



H. Gravdoin. inv. et delin.

J. P. Le Bas Sculp.

*PHILIP King of Macedon hearing his Sons
PERSEUS and DEMETRIUS.*

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THE ANCIENT
HISTORY
OF THE
EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES and PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

*By Mr. ROLLIN, late Principal of the University
of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal
College, and Member of the Royal Academy of In-
scriptions and Belles-Lettres.*

Translated from the FRENCH.

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HISTORICAL

OF THE

EGYPTIANS

CAIRO, ALEXANDRIA

AND

THE

MEMBERS

OF THE



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Vol. VII.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF

Alexander's Successors.

CONTAINING

BOOK XVII.

Ptolemy Philopator. Seleucus Ceraunus. Reign of Antiochus the Great. Hermias his prime minister. Philopator's actions in Jerusalem, &c. Death of Cleomenes in Egypt. Various actions of Philip. Aratus poisoned, &c. Attalus king of Pergamus. Education and exalted qualities of Philopæmen. Curious digression concerning signals made by fire. Machanidas tyrant of Sparta. Nabis. Glorious expeditions of Antiochus into the east. Death of Ptolemy Philopator.

BOOK XVIII. ART. I.

Ptolemy Epiphanes. Antiochus's conquest of Palestine, &c. Tragical end of Abydos. Philip overcome by the Romans. Antiochus recovers Syria. Sickness and death of Attalus. Philip defeated by Flamininus. A peace

concluded. Conspiracy of Scopas. Hannibal's flight to Antiochus. Victory gained by Philopæmen over Nabis. Death of the latter. Hannibal defeated by the Romans. Antiochus overcome. The Spartans treated cruelly by their exiles. Death of Antiochus. Seleucus Philopator his successor. Ptolemy Epiphanes. Philopæmen put to death by the Messenians. His magnificent funeral, &c.

ARTICLE II.

Conspiracy of Perseus, son to Philip of Macedon, against his brother Demetrius. Murder of the latter. Philip's death. Reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. His horrid cruelties against Jerusalem. Popilius obliges Antiochus to leave Egypt. Victories of Judas Maccabeus over the generals of that monarch. Antiochus's fatal end.

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HISTORY

Alexander's Successors

CONTENTS

BOOK XVII.

Part I. The Successors of Alexander the Great. The Partition of the Empire. The Diadochi. The Rise of the Seleucid, Ptolemaic, and Antigonid Dynasties. The Struggle for Supremacy. The Battle of Ipsus. The Division of the Empire into Four Kingdoms. The Rise of the Roman Republic and its Expansion. The Conquest of the East by Rome. The End of the Hellenistic Age.

Part II. The Roman Empire. The Reign of Augustus. The Principate. The Expansion of the Empire. The Pax Romana. The Crisis of the Third Century. The Diocletianic Tetrarchy. The Constantinian Revolution. The Fall of the Western Roman Empire. The Rise of the Byzantine Empire. The Justinianic Age. The Islamic Conquests. The Crusades. The Fall of Constantinople. The Ottoman Empire.

Part III. The Middle Ages. The Dark Ages. The Rise of Feudalism. The Carolingian Renaissance. The Investiture Controversy. The Crusades. The Renaissance. The Reformation. The Scientific Revolution. The Enlightenment. The French Revolution. The Industrial Revolution. The Victorian Age. The World Wars. The Cold War. The Modern World.

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THE CONTENTS.

BOOK XVII.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. *Ptolemy Philopator reigns in Egypt. The short reign of Seleucus Ceraunus. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed the GREAT. Achæus's fidelity to him. Hermias, his chief minister, first removes Epigenes the ablest of all his generals, and afterwards puts him to death. Antiochus subdues the rebels in the east. He rids himself of Hermias. He attempts to recover Cœlosyria from Ptolemy Philopator, and possesses himself of the strongest cities in it. After a short truce, a war breaks out again in Syria. Battle of Raphia, in which Antiochus is entirely defeated. The anger and revenge of Philopator against the Jews, for refusing to let him enter the sanctuary. Antiochus concludes a peace with Ptolemy. He turns his arms against Achæus, who had rebelled. He at last seizes him treacherously, and puts him to death,*
Page 1

CONTENTS.

SECT. II. *The Ætolians declare against the Achæans. Battle of Caphyia lost by Aratus. The Achæans address Philip, who undertakes their defence. Troubles break out in Lacedæmonia. The unhappy death of Cleomenes in Egypt. Two kings are elected in Lacedæmonia. That republic joins with the Ætolians,*

28

SECT. III. *Various expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans. Apelles his prime minister abuses his confidence in an extraordinary manner. Philip makes an inroad into Ætolia. Thermæ taken at the first assault. Excesses of Philip's soldiers in that city. Prudent retreat of that prince. Tumults in the camp. Punishment of those who had occasioned them. Inroad of Philip into Laconia. The conspirators form new cabals. Punishment inflicted on them. A peace is proposed between Philip and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which at last is concluded,*

37

SECT. IV. *Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal. The Romans gain a considerable victory over him in Apollonia. He changes his conduct. His breach of faith and irregularities. He causes Aratus to be poisoned. The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans. Attalus king of Pergamus, and the Lacedæmonians accede to it. Machanidas usurps a tyrannical power at Sparta. Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius the Roman Prætor, in one of which Philopœmen signalizes himself,*

66

SECT. V. *Education and great qualities of Philopœmen,*

82

SECT. VI. *Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius. A digression of Polybius upon signals made by fire,*

92

SECT. VII. *Philopœmen gains a famous victory near Mantinea, over Machanidas tyrant of Sparta. The high regard paid to that general. Nabis succeeds Machanidas. Some instances of his avarice and cruelty.*

CONTENTS.

cruelty. A general peace concluded between Philip and the Romans, in which the allies on both sides are included, 106

SECT. VIII. *The glorious expeditions of Antiochus into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, and as far as India. At his return to Antioch, he receives advice of Ptolemy Philopator's death,* 117

BOOK XVIII.

ARTICLE I.

SECT. I. *Ptolemy Epiphanes succeeds Philopator his father in the kingdom of Egypt. Antiochus and Philip enter into an alliance to invade his dominions. The Romans become guardians of the young king. Antiochus subdues Palestine and Cœlosyria. The war of Philip against the Athenians, Attalus, and the Rhodians. He besieges Abydos. The unhappy fate of that city. The Romans declare war against Philip. Sulpitius the consul is sent into Macedonia,* 123

SECT. II. *Expeditions of the consul Sulpitius in Macedonia. The Ætolians wait for the event, in order to declare themselves. Philip loses a battle. Villius succeeds Sulpitius. No considerable transaction happens during his government. Flaminius succeeds him. Antiochus recovers Cœlosyria, of which he had been dispossessed by Aristomenes the prime minister of Egypt. Various expeditions of the consul into Phocis. The Achæans, after long debates, declare for the Romans,* 136

SECT.

CONTENTS.

SECT. III. *Flaminius is continued in the command as proconsul. He has a fruitless interview with Philip about concluding a peace. The Ætolians, and Nabis tyrant of Sparta, declare for the Romans. Sicknes and death of Attalus. Flaminius defeats Philip in a battle near Scotussa and Cynoscephale in Thessaly. A peace concluded with Philip, which puts an end to the Macedonian war. The extraordinary joy of the Greeks at the Isthmian games, when advice is brought, that they are restored to their antient liberty by the Romans,*

161

SECT. IV. *Complaints being made, and suspicions arising concerning Antiochus, the Romans send an embassy to him, which has no other effect, but to dispose both parties for an open rupture. A conspiracy is formed by Scopas the Ætolian against Ptolemy. He and his accomplices are put to death. Hannibal retires to Antiochus. War of Flaminius against Nabis, whom he besieges in Sparta; he obliges him to sue for peace, and grants it him. He enters Rome in triumph,*

185

SECT. V. *Universal preparations for the war between Antiochus and the Romans. Mutual embassies and interviews on both sides, which come to nothing. The Romans send troops against Nabis, who had infringed the treaty. Philopæmen gains another victory over him. The Ætolians implore the assistance of Antiochus. Nabis is killed. Antiochus goes at last to Greece,*

204

SECT. VI. *Antiochus endeavours to bring over the Achæans to his interest, but in vain. He possesses himself of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The Romans proclaim war against him, and send Manius Acilius the consul into Greece. Antiochus makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsel. He is defeated near Thermopylæ. The Ætolians submit to the Romans,*

223

SECT.

CONTENTS.

SECT. VII. *Polyxenides, admiral of Antiochus's fleet, is defeated by Livius. L. Scipio, the new consul, is appointed to carry on the war against Antiochus. Scipio Africanus his brother serves under him. The Rhodians defeat Hannibal in a sea-fight. The consul marches against Antiochus, and crosses into Asia. He gains a signal victory over him near Magnesia. The king obtains a peace; and gives up, by a treaty, all Asia on this side mount Taurus. Dispute between Eumenes and the Rhodians, in presence of the Roman senate, relating to the Grecian cities of Asia,*
238

SECT. VIII. *Fulvius the consul subdues the Ætolians. The Spartans are cruelly treated by their exiles. Manlius, the other consul, conquers the Asiatic Gauls. Antiochus, in order to pay the tribute due to the Romans, plunders a temple in Elymais. That monarch is killed. Explication of Daniel's prophesy concerning Antiochus,*
276

SECT. IX. *Seleucus Philopator succeeds to the throne of Antiochus his father. The beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes in Egypt. Various embassies sent to the Achæans and Romans. Complaints made against Philip. Commissioners are sent from Rome to enquire into those complaints; and at the same time to examine concerning the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans. Sequel of that affair,*
295

SECT. X. *Philopæmen besieges Messene. He is taken prisoner, and put to death by the Messenians. Messene surrendered to the Achæans. The splendid funeral procession of Philopæmen, whose ashes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who is succeeded by Philometor his son,*
315

CONTENTS.

ARTICLE II.

SECT. I. *Complaints made at Rome against Philip. Demetrius, his son, who was in that city, is sent to his father, accompanied by some ambassadors. A secret conspiracy of Perseus against his brother Demetrius with regard to the succession to the throne. He accuses him before Philip. Speeches of both those princes. Philip, upon a new impeachment, causes Demetrius to be put to death; but afterwards discovers his innocence and Perseus's guilt. Whilst Philip is meditating to punish the latter, he dies, and Perseus succeeds him,* 330

SECT. II. *The death of Seleucus Philopator, whose reign was short and obscure. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes. Sparks of the war which afterwards broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria. Antiochus gains a victory over Ptolemy. The conqueror possesses himself of Egypt, and takes the king prisoner. A report prevailing that there was a general revolt, he goes into Palestine; besieges and takes Jerusalem, where he exercises the most horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor, who was Antiochus's prisoner, raise to the throne his younger brother Ptolemy Evergetes, surnamed also Physcon. Antiochus renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay siege to it. Popilius, one of the Roman ambassadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to molest the two brothers,* 365

SECT. III. *Antiochus, enraged at what had happened in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God in Jerusalem. He exercises the most horrid cruelties in that city. The generous resistance made by Mattathias, who, in his expiring moments, exhorts his sons to fight in*

CONTENTS.

in defence of the law of God. Judas Maccabeus gains several victories over the generals and armies of Antiochus. That prince, who had marched into Persia, in order to amass treasures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is shamefully repulsed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judæa, he sets out on a sudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march, he is struck by the hand of heaven, and dies in the greatest torments, after having reigned eleven years, 389

SECT. IV. Prophecies of Daniel relating to Antiochus Epiphanes, 411

BOOK

CONTENTS

1. The first of the year 1864 - 1865
2. The second of the year 1864 - 1865
3. The third of the year 1864 - 1865
4. The fourth of the year 1864 - 1865
5. The fifth of the year 1864 - 1865
6. The sixth of the year 1864 - 1865
7. The seventh of the year 1864 - 1865
8. The eighth of the year 1864 - 1865
9. The ninth of the year 1864 - 1865
10. The tenth of the year 1864 - 1865
11. The eleventh of the year 1864 - 1865
12. The twelfth of the year 1864 - 1865
13. The thirteenth of the year 1864 - 1865
14. The fourteenth of the year 1864 - 1865
15. The fifteenth of the year 1864 - 1865
16. The sixteenth of the year 1864 - 1865
17. The seventeenth of the year 1864 - 1865
18. The eighteenth of the year 1864 - 1865
19. The nineteenth of the year 1864 - 1865
20. The twentieth of the year 1864 - 1865
21. The twenty-first of the year 1864 - 1865
22. The twenty-second of the year 1864 - 1865
23. The twenty-third of the year 1864 - 1865
24. The twenty-fourth of the year 1864 - 1865
25. The twenty-fifth of the year 1864 - 1865
26. The twenty-sixth of the year 1864 - 1865
27. The twenty-seventh of the year 1864 - 1865
28. The twenty-eighth of the year 1864 - 1865
29. The twenty-ninth of the year 1864 - 1865
30. The thirtieth of the year 1864 - 1865
31. The thirty-first of the year 1864 - 1865
32. The thirty-second of the year 1864 - 1865
33. The thirty-third of the year 1864 - 1865
34. The thirty-fourth of the year 1864 - 1865
35. The thirty-fifth of the year 1864 - 1865
36. The thirty-sixth of the year 1864 - 1865
37. The thirty-seventh of the year 1864 - 1865
38. The thirty-eighth of the year 1864 - 1865
39. The thirty-ninth of the year 1864 - 1865
40. The fortieth of the year 1864 - 1865
41. The forty-first of the year 1864 - 1865
42. The forty-second of the year 1864 - 1865
43. The forty-third of the year 1864 - 1865
44. The forty-fourth of the year 1864 - 1865
45. The forty-fifth of the year 1864 - 1865
46. The forty-sixth of the year 1864 - 1865
47. The forty-seventh of the year 1864 - 1865
48. The forty-eighth of the year 1864 - 1865
49. The forty-ninth of the year 1864 - 1865
50. The fiftieth of the year 1864 - 1865

BOOK

BOOK THE SEVENTEENTH.

SEQUEL of the

HISTORY

OF

Alexander's Successors.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article includes the history of twenty-seven years, during which Ptolemy Philopator reigned.

SECT. I. *Ptolemy Philopator reigns in Egypt. The short reign of Seleucus Ceraunus. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed the GREAT. Achæus's fidelity to him. Hermias, his chief minister, first removes Epigenes the ablest of all his generals, and afterwards puts him to death. Antiochus subdues the rebels in the east. He rids himself of Hermias. He attempts to recover Cœlosyria from Ptolemy Philopator, and possesses himself of the strongest cities in it. After a short truce, a war breaks out again in Syria. Battle of Raphia, in which Antiochus is entirely defeated. The anger and revenge of Philopator against the Jews, for refusing to let him enter the sanctuary. Antiochus concludes a peace with Ptolemy. He turns his arms against Achæus, who had rebelled. He at last seizes him treacherously, and puts him to death.*

(a) I Observed in the preceding book, that Ptolemy Philopator had succeeded Ptolemy Evergetes his father in Egypt. On the other side, Seleucus Callinicus was dead in Parthia. He had left two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus; and the first, who was the elder, succeeded to his father's throne, and assumed the surname of ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΣ (Ceraunus) or the *Thunder*, which no way suited his character; for he was a very weak prince both in body and mind, and never did any actions that corresponded with the idea of that name. His reign was short, and his authority but ill established either in the army or the provinces. What prevented his losing it entirely was, that Achæus his cousin, son to Andromachus his mother's brother, a man of courage and abilities, assumed the management of his affairs, which his father's ill conduct had reduced to a very low ebb. As for Andromachus, he was taken by Ptolemy, in a war with Callinicus; and kept prisoner in Alexandria during all his reign, and part of the following.

(b) Attalus king of Pergamus having seized upon all Asia minor, from mount Taurus as far as the Hellespont; Seleucus marched against him, and left Hermias the Carian regent of Syria. Achæus accompanied him in that expedition; and did him all the good services the ill state of his affairs would admit.

(c) Having no money to pay the forces, and the king being despised by the soldiers for his weakness, Nicanor and Apaturius, two of the chief officers, formed a conspiracy against him during his absence in Phrygia, and poisoned him. However, Achæus revenged that horrid action, by putting to death the two ring-leaders, and all who had engaged in their plot. He acted afterwards with so much prudence and va-

(a) A. M. 3778. Ant. J. C. 226. Polyb. l. 4. p. 315. & l. 5. p. 386. Hieron. in Daniel. Appian. in Syriac. p. 131. Justin. l. 19. c. 1. (b) A. M. 3780, Ant. J. C. 224. (c) A. M. 3781, Ant. J. C. 223.

lour with regard to the army, that he kept the soldiers in their obedience; and prevented Attalus from taking advantage of this accident, which, but for his excellent conduct, would have lost the Syrian empire all it still possessed on that side.

Seleucus dying without children, the army offered the crown to Achæus, and several of the provinces did the same. However, he had the generosity to refuse it at that time, though he afterwards thought himself obliged to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, he not only refused the crown, but preserved it carefully for the lawful heir, Antiochus, brother of the deceased king, who was but in his fifteenth year. Seleucus, at his setting out for Asia minor, had sent him into Babylonia *, where he was when his brother died. He was now brought from thence to Antioch, where he ascended the throne, and enjoyed it thirty-six years. For his illustrious actions he has been surnamed the Great. Achæus, to secure the succession in his favour, sent a detachment of the army to him in Syria, with Epigenes one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the forces he kept for the service of the state, in that part of the country where he himself was.

(d) As soon as Antiochus was possessed of the crown, he sent Molo and Alexander, two brothers, into the east; the former as governor of Media, and the latter of Persia. Achæus was appointed to preside over the provinces of Asia minor. Epigenes had the command of the troops which were kept about the king's person; and Hermias the Carian was declared his prime minister, as he had been under his brother. Achæus soon recovered all the territories which Attalus had taken from the empire of Syria, and forced him to confine himself within his kingdom of Pergamus.

(d) A. M. 3782. Ant. J. C. 222. Polyb. l. 5. p. 386.

* To Seleucia, which was in that province, and the capital of the east, instead of Babylon, which was no longer in being, or at least was uninhabited.

Alexander and Molo despising the king's youth, were no sooner fixed in their governments, but they refused to acknowledge him; and each declared himself sovereign in the province over which he had been appointed lieutenant. Hermias, by his ill treatment of them, had very much contributed to their revolt.

This minister was of a cruel disposition. The most inconsiderable faults were by him made crimes, and punished with the utmost rigour. He was a man of very little genius, but haughty, full of himself, tenacious of his own opinion, and would have thought it a dishonour to have either asked or followed another man's advice. He could not bear that any person should share with him in credit and authority. Merit of every kind was suspected by, or rather odious to him. But the chief object of his hatred was Epigenes, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time, and in whom the troops reposed an entire confidence. It was this reputation gave the prime minister umbrage; and it was not in his power to conceal the ill-will he bore him.

(e) News being brought of Molo's revolt, Antiochus assembled his council, in order to consider what was to be done in the present posture of affairs; and whether it would be adviseable for him to march in person against that rebel, or turn towards Cœlosyria, to check the enterprizes of Ptolemy. Epigenes was the first who spoke, and declared, that they had no time to lose: that it was absolutely necessary the king should go in person into the east, in order to take advantage of the most favourable times and occasions for acting against the rebels: that when he should be on the spot, either Molo would not dare to attempt any thing in sight of the prince, and of an army; or, in case he should persist in his design, the people, struck with the presence of their sovereign, in the return of their zeal and affection for him, would not fail to deliver him up; but that the most important point of all was,

(e) A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221. Polyb. l. 5. p. 386—395.

not to give him time to fortify himself. Hermias could not forbear interrupting him; and cried, in an angry and self-sufficient tone of voice, that to advise the king to march in person against Molo with so inconsiderable a body of forces, would be to deliver him up to the rebels. The real motive of his speaking in this manner was, his being afraid of sharing in the dangers of that expedition. Ptolemy was to him a much less formidable enemy. There was little to be feared from invading a prince entirely devoted to trivial pleasures. The advice of Hermias prevailed; upon which the command of part of the troops was given to Xenon and Theodotus, with orders to carry on the war against Molo; and the king himself marched with the rest of the army towards Coelosyria.

Being come to Seleucia near Zeugma, he there found Laodice, daughter of Mithridates king of Pontus, who was brought thither to espouse him. He made some stay there to solemnize his nuptials, the joy of which was soon interrupted by the news brought from the east, viz. that his generals, unable to make head against Molo and Alexander, who had united their forces, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field of battle. Antiochus then saw the error he had committed, in not following Epigenes's advice; and thereupon was for laying aside the enterprize against Coelosyria, in order to march with all his troops to suppress that revolt. But Hermias persisted as obstinately as ever in his first opinion. He fancied he spoke wonders, in declaring in an emphatic, sententious manner, *That it became kings to march in person against kings, and to send their lieutenants against rebels.* Antiochus was so weak as to acquiesce again in Hermias's opinion.

It is scarce possible to conceive, how useless experience of every kind is to an indolent prince, who lives without reflection. This artful, insinuating and deceitful minister, who knew how to adapt himself to all the desires and inclinations of his master; inventive

and industrious in finding out new methods to please and amuse, he had the cunning to make himself necessary, by easing his prince of the weight of affairs, so that Antiochus imagined he could not do without him. And though he perceived several things in his conduct and counsels which gave him disgust, he would not give himself the trouble to examine strictly into them; nor had resolution enough to resume the authority he had in a manner abandoned to him. So that acquiescing again in his opinion on this occasion, (not from conviction but weakness and indolence) he contented himself with sending a general, and a body of troops into the east; and himself resumed the expedition of Coelosyria.

(f) The general he sent on that occasion was Xenetas the Achæan, in whose commission it was ordered, that the two first generals should resign to him the command of their forces, and serve under him. He had never commanded in chief before, and his only merit was, his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Raised to an employment, which his vanity and presumption could never have hoped, he behaved with haughtiness to the other officers, and with boldness and temerity to the enemy. The success was such as might be expected from so ill a choice. In passing the Tygris, he fell into an ambuscade, into which the enemy drew him by stratagem, and himself and all his army were cut to pieces. This victory opened to the rebels the province of Babylonia and all Mesopotamia, of which they, by this means, possessed themselves without any opposition.

Antiochus, in the mean time, was advanced into Coelosyria, as far as the valley lying between the two ridges of the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus. He found the passes of these mountains so strongly fortified, and so well defended by Theodotus the Ætolian, to whom Ptolemy had confided the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, finding

it not possible for him to advance farther. There is no doubt but the news of the defeat of his troops in the east, hastened also his retreat. He assembled his council, and again debated on the rebellion. Epigenes, after saying in a modest tone, that it would have been most adviseable to march immediately against them, to prevent their having time to fortify themselves as they had done; added, that the same reason ought to make them more expeditious now, and devote their whole care and study to a war, which if neglected, might terminate in the ruin of the empire. Hermias, who thought himself injured by this discourse, began to exclaim against Epigenes in the most opprobrious terms on this occasion. He conjured the king not to lay aside the enterprize of Coelosyria, affirming, that he could not abandon it, without instancing a levity and inconstancy, entirely inconsistent with the glory of a prince of his wisdom and knowledge. The whole council hung down their heads through shame; and Antiochus himself was much dissatisfied. It was unanimously resolved to march with the utmost speed against the rebels: and Hermias, finding that all resistance would be in vain, grew immediately quite another man. He came over with great zeal to the general opinion, and seemed more ardent than any body for hastening its execution. Accordingly the troops set out towards Apamea, where the rendezvous was fixed.

They had scarce set out, when a sedition arose in the army, on account of the soldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmost consternation and anxiety; and indeed the danger was imminent. Hermias seeing the king in such perplexity, comforted him, and promised to pay immediately the whole arrears due to the army: but at the same time, earnestly besought Antiochus not to take Epigenes with him in this expedition, because after the noise their quarrels had made, it would no longer be possible for them to act in concert in the operations of the

war, as the good of the service might require. His view in this was, to begin by lessening Antiochus's esteem and affection for Epigenes by absence; well knowing, that princes soon forget the virtue and services of a man removed from their sight.

This proposal perplexed the king very much, who was perfectly sensible how necessary the presence of a general of Epigenes's experience and ability was in so important an expedition. But, * as Hermias had industriously contrived to besiege, and in a manner possess him by all manner of methods, such as suggesting to him pretended views of œconomy, watching his every action, keeping a kind of guard over him, and bribing his affection by the most abandoned complacency and adulation; that unhappy prince was no longer his own master. The king therefore consented, though with the utmost reluctance, to what he required; and Epigenes was accordingly ordered to retire to Apamea. This event surprized and terrified all the courtiers, who were apprehensive of the same fate: but the soldiers having received all their arrears, were very easy; and thought themselves highly obliged to the prime minister, by whose means they had been paid. Having in this manner made himself master of the nobles by fear, and of the army by their pay, he marched with the king.

As Epigenes's disgrace extended only to his removal, it was far from satiating his vengeance; and as it did not calm his uneasiness with regard to the future, he was apprehensive that he might obtain leave to return, to prevent which he employed effectual means. Alexis, governor of the citadel of Apamea, was entirely at his devotion; and indeed, how few would be otherwise with regard to an all-powerful

* Περιχόμην δὲ καὶ προκαταλημμένον οικονομίαις, καὶ φυλακαῖς, καὶ θεραπειαῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἑρμίου κακοηθείας, ὅτε ἦν αὐ-

τὲ κύριος. Circumventus & præoccupatus œconomiis, & custodiis, & obsequiis, Hermiæ malignitate, sui non erat dominus. *This is a literal translation.*

minister, the sole dispenser of his master's graces ! Hermias orders this man to dispatch Epigenes, and prescribes him the manner. In consequence of this, Alexis bribes one of Epigenes's domestics ; and by gifts and promises, engages him to slide a letter he gave him among his master's papers. This letter seemed to have been written and subscribed by Molo, one of the chiefs of the rebels, who thanked Epigenes for having formed a conspiracy against the king ; and communicated to him the methods by which he might safely put it in execution. Some days after, Alexis went to him, and asked whether he had not received a letter from Molo. Epigenes, surprized at this question, expressed his astonishment, and at the same time the highest indignation. The other replied, that he was ordered to inspect his papers. Accordingly, a search being made, the forged letter was found : and Epigenes, without being called to a trial, or otherwise examined, was put to death. The king, at the bare sight of the letter, imagined that the charge had been fully proved against him. However, the courtiers thought otherwise ; but fear kept them all tonguetied, and dumb. How unhappy, and how much to be pitied are princes !

Although the season was now very far advanced, Antiochus passed the Euphrates, assembled all his forces ; and that he might be nearer at hand, to open the campaign very early the next spring, he in the mean time sent them into winter quarters in the neighbourhood.

(g) Upon the return of the season he marched them towards the Tigris, passed that river, forced Molo to come to an engagement ; and gained so compleat a victory over him, that the rebel seeing all lost, laid violent hands on himself. His brother Alexander was at that time in Persia, where Neolas, another of their brothers, who escaped out of this battle, brought him that mournful news. Finding their affairs desperate,

(g) A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220.

they first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children; and at last dispatched themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who engaged in it. A just reward for all those who dare to take up arms against their sovereign.

After this victory, the remains of the vanquished army submitted to the king, who only reprimanded them in very severe terms, and afterwards pardoned them. He then sent them into Media, under the command of those to whose care he had committed the government of that province; and returning from thence to Seleucia over the Tigris, he spent some time there in giving the orders necessary for re-establishing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and for settling all things on their former foot.

This being done by persons whom he appointed for that purpose, he marched against the Atropatians, who inhabited the country situated to the west of Media, and which is now called Georgia. Their king, Artabazanes by name, was a decrepit old man, who being greatly terrified at Antiochus's approach at the head of a victorious army, sent and made his submission, and concluded a peace on such conditions as Antiochus thought proper to prescribe.

(b) News came at this time, that the queen was delivered of a son, which proved a subject of joy to the court as well as the army. Hermias, from that moment, revolved in his mind how he might dispatch Antiochus; in hopes that after his death, he should certainly be appointed guardian of the young prince; and that, in his name, he might reign with unlimited power. His pride and insolence had made him odious to all men. The people groaned under a government, which the avarice and cruelty of a prime minister had rendered insupportable. Their complaints did not

(b) A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. 5. p. 399—401.

reach the throne, whose avenues were all closed against them. No one dared to inform the king of the oppression under which his people groaned. It was well known that he apprehended inspecting the truth; and that he abandoned to Hermias's cruelty, all who dared to speak against him. Till now he had been an utter stranger to the injustice and violence which Hermias exercised under his name. At last, however, he began to open his eyes; but was himself afraid of his minister, whose dependant he had made himself; and who had assumed an absolute authority over him, by taking advantage of the indolence of his disposition, who, at first, was well pleased with discharging the burden of affairs on Hermias.

Apollophanes his physician, in whom the king reposed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free access to him, took a proper time to represent the general discontent of his subjects; and the danger to which himself was exposed by the ill conduct of his prime minister. He therefore advised Antiochus to take care of himself, lest the same fate should attend him as his brother had experienced in Phrygia; who fell a victim to the ambition of those on whom he most relied: That it was plain Hermias was hatching some ill design; and that, to prevent it, not a moment was to be lost. These were real services, which an officer who is attached to the person of his king, and who has a sincere affection for him, may and ought to perform. Such is the use he ought to make of the free access which his sovereign vouchsafes, and the confidence with which he honours him.

Antiochus was surrounded by courtiers whom he had loaded with his favours, of whom not one had the courage to hazard his fortune by telling him the truth. It has been very justly said, that one of the greatest blessings which God can bestow on kings, is to deliver them from the tongues of flatterers, and the silence of good men.

This

This prince, as was already observed, had begun to entertain some suspicions of his chief minister, but did not reveal his thoughts to any person, not knowing whom to trust. He was extremely well pleased that his physician had given him this advice; and concerted measures with him to rid himself of a minister so universally detested, and so dangerous. Accordingly, he removed to some small distance from the army, upon pretence of being indisposed, and carried Hermias with him to bear him company; here taking him to walk in a solitary place, where none of his creatures could come to his assistance, he caused him to be assassinated. His death caused an universal joy throughout the whole empire. This haughty and cruel man had governed, on all occasions, with great cruelty and violence; and whoever dared to oppose either his opinions or designs, was sure to fall a victim to his resentments. Accordingly, he was universally hated; and this hatred displayed itself more strongly in Apamea than in any other place: for the instant the news was brought of his death, all the citizens rose with the utmost fury, and stoned his wife and children.

(i) Antiochus, having so happily re-established his affairs in the east, and raised to the government of the several provinces persons of merit, in whom he could repose the greatest confidence, marched back his army into Syria, and put it into winter quarters. He spent the remainder of the year in Antioch, in holding frequent councils with his ministers, on the operations of the ensuing campaign.

This prince had two other very dangerous enterprises to put in execution, for re-establishing entirely the safety and glory of the empire of Syria: one was against Ptolemy, to recover Cœlosyria; and the other against Achæus, who had usurped the sovereignty of Asia Minor.

Ptolemy Evergetes having seized upon all Cœlosyria, in the beginning of Seleucus Callinicus's reign, as was

(i) Polyb. l. 5. p. 401.

before related ; the king of Egypt was still possessed of a great part of that province, and Antiochus not a little incommoded by such a neighbour.

With respect to Achæus, we have already seen in what manner he refused the crown which was offered him after the death of Seleucus Ceraunus ; and had placed it on the head of Antiochus, the lawful monarch, who, to reward his fidelity and services, had appointed him governor of all the provinces of Asia Minor. By his valour and good conduct he had recovered them all from Attalus king of Pergamus, who had seized upon those countries, and fortified himself strongly in them. Such a series of success drew upon him the envy of such as had the ears of Antiochus. Upon this a report was spread, that he intended to usurp the crown ; and with that view held a secret correspondence with Ptolemy. Whether these suspicions were well or ill grounded, he thought it advisable to prevent the evil designs of his enemies ; and therefore, taking the crown which he had refused before, he caused himself to be declared king.

He soon became one of the most powerful monarchs of Asia, and all princes solicited very earnestly his alliance. (k) This was evident in a war which then broke out between the Rhodians and the Byzantines, on occasion of a tribute which the latter had imposed on all the ships that passed through the straits ; a tribute, which was very grievous to the Rhodians, because of the great trade they carried on in the Black sea. Achæus, at the earnest solicitations of the inhabitants of Byzantium, had promised to assist them ; the report of which threw the Rhodians into the utmost consternation, as well as Prusias king of Bithynia, whom they had engaged in their party. In the extreme perplexity they were under, they thought of an expedient to disengage Achæus from the Byzantines, and to bring him over to their interest. Andromachus, his father, brother to Laodice, whom Seleucus

(k) Polyb. l. 4. p. 314—319.

had married, was actually prisoner in Alexandria. These sent a deputation to Ptolemy, requesting that he might be set at liberty. The king, who was also very glad to oblige Achæus, as it was in his power to furnish him with considerable succours against Antiochus, with whom he was engaged in war; readily granted the Rhodians their request, and put Andromachus into their hands. This was a very agreeable present to Achæus, and made the Byzantines lose all hopes. They thereupon consented to reinstate things upon the antient foot, and take off the new tribute which had occasioned the war. Thus a peace was concluded between the two states, and Achæus had all the honour of it.

(1) It was against this prince and Ptolemy that Antiochus was resolved to turn his arms. These were the two dangerous wars he had to sustain; and were the subject of the deliberations of his council, to consider which of them he should undertake first. After weighing all things maturely, it was resolved to march first against Ptolemy, before they attacked Achæus, whom they then only menaced in the strongest terms; and accordingly all the forces were ordered to assemble in Apamea, and afterwards to march into Cœlosyria.

In a council that was held before the army set out, Apollophanes the king's physician represented to him, that it would be a great oversight, should they march into Cœlosyria, and leave behind them Seleucia in the hands of the enemy, and so near the capital of the empire. His opinion brought over the whole council, by the evident strength of the reasons which supported it; for this city stands on the same river as Antioch, and is but five leagues below near the mouth of it. When Ptolemy Evergetes undertook the invasion already mentioned, to support the rights of his sister Berenice, he seized that city, and put a strong Egyptian garrison into it, which had kept possession of that important place full twenty-seven years. Among

(1) A. M. 3785. Ant. J. C. 219. Polyb. l. 5. p. 402—409.

many prejudices it did to the inhabitants of Antioch, one was, its cutting off entirely their communication with the sea, and ruining all their trade; for Seleucia being situated near the mouth of the Orontes, was the harbour of Antioch, which suffered grievously by that means. All these reasons being clearly and strongly urged by Apollophanes, determined the king and council to follow his plan, and to open the campaign with the siege of Seleucia. Accordingly the whole army marched thither, invested it, took it by storm, and drove the Egyptians out of it.

This being done, Antiochus marched with diligence into Coelosyria, where Theodotus the Ætolian, governor of it under Ptolemy, promised to put him in possession of the whole country. We have seen how vigorously he had repulsed him the year before; nevertheless, the court of Egypt had not been satisfied with his services on that occasion. Those who governed the king expected greater things from his valour; and were persuaded, that it was in his power to have done something more. Accordingly he was sent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct; and was threatened with no less than losing his head. Indeed, after his reasons had been heard, he was acquitted, and sent back to his government. However, he could not forgive the groundless injury they had done him; and was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it.

The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eye-witness, heightened his indignation and resentment. It was intolerable to him, to depend on the caprice of so base and contemptible a set of people. And indeed, it would be impossible for fancy to conceive more abominable excesses than those in which Philopator plunged himself during his whole reign; and the court imitated but too exactly the example he set them. It was thought that he had poisoned his father, whence he was, by antiphrasis, surnamed

surnamed * *Philopator*. He publickly caused Berenice his mother, and Magas his only brother, to be put to death. After he had got rid of all those who could either give him good counsel, or excite his jealousy, he abandoned himself to the most infamous pleasures; and was solely intent on gratifying his luxury, brutality, and the most shameful passions. His prime minister was Sosibes, a man every way qualified for the service of such a master as *Philopator*; and one whose sole view was to support himself in power by any means whatsoever. The reader will naturally imagine, that in such a court, the power of women had no bounds.

Theodotus, who was a man of honour, could not bear to depend on such people, and therefore resolved to find a sovereign more worthy of his services. Accordingly, he was no sooner returned to his government, but he seized upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for king Antiochus, and immediately dispatched the courier above mentioned to invite him thither.

Nicolaus, one of Ptolemy's generals, though he was of the same country with Theodotus, however would not desert Ptolemy, but preserved his fidelity to that prince. The instant therefore that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he besieged him in it; possessed himself of the passes of mount Libanus to stop Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the last extremity. However, he was afterwards forced to abandon them, by which means Antiochus took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, whose gates were opened to him by Theodotus.

In these two cities were the magazines which Ptolemy had laid up for the use of his army, with a fleet of forty sail. He gave the command of these ships to Diognetus his admiral, who was ordered to sail to Pelusium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that side: howe-

* *This word signifies, a lover of his father.*

ver, being informed that this was the season in which the inhabitants used to lay the country under water by opening the dikes of the Nile; and consequently, that it would be impossible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned that project, and employed the whole force of his arms to reduce the rest of Cœlosyria. He seized upon some fortresses, and others submitted to him; (m) and at last he possessed himself of Damascus, the capital of that province, after having deceived Dinon the governor of it by a stratagem.

The last action of this campaign was the siege of Dora, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount Carmel. This place, which was strongly situated, had been so well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impossible for Antiochus to take it. He therefore was forced to agree to a four month's truce, proposed to him in the name of Ptolemy; and this served him as an honourable pretence, for marching back his army to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put it into winter-quarters. Antiochus appointed Theodotus the Ætolian governor of all the places he had conquered in this country.

(n) During the interval of this truce, a treaty was negotiated between the two crowns, in which, however, the only view of both parties was to gain time. Ptolemy had occasion for it in order to making the necessary preparations for carrying on the war; and Antiochus for reducing Achæus. The latter was not satisfied with Asia minor, of which he was already master; but had no less in view than to dethrone Antiochus, and to dispossess him of all his dominions. To check his ambitious views, it was necessary for Antiochus not to be employed on the frontiers, or engaged in remote conquests.

In this treaty, the main point was to know to whom Cœlosyria, Phœnicia, Samaria, and Judæa had been given, in the partition of Alexander the Great's em-

(m) Polyæn. l. 4. c. 15.

(n) Polyb. l. 5. p. 409—415.

pire, between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lyfimachus, after the death of Antigonus, in the battle of Ipsus. Ptolemy laid claim to them, by virtue of their having been assigned by this treaty to Ptolemy Soter his great-grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator; and therefore that they were his right, being heir and successor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embarrassed the commissioners. Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty, which Antiochus opposed absolutely, alledging, that it was a shameful and unheard-of thing, for a king like Ptolemy to espouse the party of rebels, and countenance revolt.

(o) During these contests, in which neither side would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapsed; and nothing being concluded, it became necessary to have recourse again to arms. Nicolaus the Ætolian had given so many proofs of valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the service of the king, in those provinces which occasioned the war. Perigenes the admiral put to sea with the fleet, in order to act against the enemy on that side. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the necessary provisions had been sent from Egypt. From thence he marched to mount Libanus, where he seized all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, by which Antiochus was obliged to pass; firmly resolved to wait for him there, and to stop his march, by the superiority which the advantageous posts he was master of gave him.

In the mean time, Antiochus was not unactive, but prepared all things both by sea and land for a vigorous invasion. He gave the command of his fleet to Diognetus his admiral, and put himself at the head of his land-forces. The fleets coasted the armies on both

sides; so that their naval as well as land-forces met at the passes which Nicolaus had seized. Whilst Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets began to engage, so that the battle began both by sea and land at the same time. At sea neither party had the superiority; but on land Antiochus had the advantage, and forced Nicolaus to retire to Sidon, after losing four thousand of his soldiers, who were either killed or taken prisoners. Perigenes followed him thither with the Egyptian fleet; and Antiochus pursued them to that city both by sea and land, with the design of besieging them in it. He nevertheless found that conquest would be attended with too many difficulties, because of the great number of troops in the city, where they had a great abundance of provisions, and other necessities; and he was not willing to besiege it in form. He therefore sent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having subjected it by the taking of several cities, he passed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and possessed himself of all that country, formerly the inheritance of the tribes of Reuben and Gad, and half the tribe of Manasseh.

The season was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reason he returned back by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolochus and Kereas, who had deserted Ptolemy's service, and come over to him; and he gave them five thousand men to keep it in subjection. He marched the rest of the forces back to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter-quarters.

(p) The campaign was again opened in spring. Ptolemy caused seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and sixty three elephants to advance towards Pelusium. He was at the head of these forces, and marched them through the deserts which divide Egypt from Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocorura and Gaza, at the latter of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was

(p) A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217. Polyb. l. 5. p. 241—428.

something

something more numerous than the other. His forces consisted of seventy two thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and an hundred and two elephants. He first incamped within * ten furlongs, and soon after within five of the enemy. All the time they lay so near one another, they were perpetually skirmishing, either when they went to fetch fresh water, or in foraging; particulars also distinguishing themselves upon these occasions.

Theodotus the Ætolian, who had served many years under the Egyptians, favoured by the darkness of the night, entered their camp, accompanied only by two persons. He was taken for an Egyptian; so that he advanced as far as Ptolemy's tent, with a design to kill him, and by that bold action to put an end to the war; but the king happening not to be in his tent, he killed his first physician, having mistaken him for Ptolemy. He also wounded two other persons; and during the alarm and noise which this attempt occasioned, he escaped to his camp.

But at last the two kings resolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in battle-array. They rode from one body to another, at the head of their lines, to animate their troops. Arsinoe, the sister and wife of Ptolemy, not only exhorted the soldiers to behave manfully before the battle; but did not leave her husband even during the heat of the engagement. The issue of it was; Antiochus, being at the head of his right wing, defended the enemy's left. But whilst hurried on by an inconsiderate ardour, he engaged too warmly in the pursuit; Ptolemy, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged Antiochus's center in flank, which was then uncovered; and broke it before it was possible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer, who saw which way the dust flew, concluded that the center was defeated, and accordingly made Antiochus observe it. But tho' he faced about that instant, he came too late to amend his fault; and found the rest of his army

* Half a French league.

broke and put to flight. He himself was now obliged to provide for his retreat, and retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loss of ten thousand men killed, and four thousand taken prisoners. Finding it would now be impossible for him to continue the campaign against Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conquests; and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army. This battle of Raphia was fought at the same time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminius the consul on the banks of the lake Thrasymene in Hetruria.

After Antiochus's retreat, all Coelosyria and Palestine submitted with great cheerfulness to Ptolemy. Having been long subject to the Egyptians, they were more inclined to them than to Antiochus. The conqueror's court was soon crowded with ambassadors from all the cities, (and from Judæa among the rest) to pay homage to, and offer him presents; and all met with a gracious reception.

(q) Ptolemy was desirous of making a progress through the conquered provinces, and, among other cities, he visited Jerusalem. He saw the * temple there; and even offered sacrifices to the God of Israel, making at the same time oblations, and bestowing considerable gifts. However, not being satisfied with viewing it from the outward court, beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go; he was determined to enter the sanctuary, and even as far as the holy of holies, to which no one was allowed access but the high priest; and that but once every year, on the day of the great expiation. The report of this being soon spread, occasioned a great tumult. The high priest informed him of the holiness of the place; and the express law of God, by which he was forbid to enter

(q) Maccab. l. 3. c. 1.

* The third book of Maccabees, whence this story is extracted, is not admitted by the church among the canonical books of scripture, any more than the fourth. They are prior, with regard to the order of

time, to the two first. Dr. Prideaux, speaking of the third book, says, that the ground-work of the story is true, though the author changed some circumstances of it, by intermixing fabulous incidents.

it.

it. The priests and Levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. And now, all places echoed with the lamentations which were made, on account of the profanation to which their temple would be exposed; and in all places the people were lifting up their hands, to implore heaven not to suffer it. However, all this opposition, instead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curiosity the more. He forced in as far as the second court; but as he was preparing to enter the temple itself, God struck him with a sudden terror, which threw him into such prodigious disorder that he was carried off half dead. After this he left the city, highly exasperated against the Jewish nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and highly threatened it with his revenge. He accordingly kept his word; and the following year raised a cruel persecution, especially against the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force, to worship false deities.

(r) The instant that Antiochus, after the battle of Raphia, arrived in Antioch, he sent an embassy to Ptolemy, to sue for peace. The circumstance which prompted him to this was, his suspecting the fidelity of his people; for he could not but perceive that his credit and authority were very much lessened since his last defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms towards Achæus, and check the progress he made, which increased daily. To obviate the danger which threatened him on that side, he concluded that it would be safest for him to make a peace upon any terms with Ptolemy; to avoid being opposed by two such powerful enemies, who, invading him on both sides, would certainly overpower him at last. He therefore invested his ambassadors with full powers, to give up to Ptolemy all those provinces which were the subject of their contest, *i. e.* Coelosyria and Palest.

(r) Polyb. l. 5. p. 428. Justin. l. 30. c. 1. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11.

tine. Coelosyria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Antilibanus; and Palestine, all the country which antiently was the inheritance of the children of Israel: and the coast of these two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnicia. Antiochus consented to resign up all this country to the king of Egypt, to purchase a peace at this juncture; chusing rather to give up this part of his dominions, than hazard the losing them all. A truce was therefore agreed for twelve months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on the same terms. Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of this victory, for conquering all Syria, was desirous of putting an end to the war, that he might have an opportunity of devoting himself entirely to his pleasures. His subjects, knowing his want of spirit and effeminacy, could not conceive how it had been possible for him to have been so successful; and at the same time, they were displeased at his having concluded a peace, by which he had tied up his hands. The discontent they conceived on this account, was the chief source of the disorders in Egypt, which at last rose to an open rebellion: so that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew one upon himself in the center of his own dominions.

(s) Antiochus, after having concluded a peace with Ptolemy, devoted his whole attention to the war against Achæus, and made all the preparations necessary for taking the field. At last he passed mount Taurus, and entered Asia Minor with an intention to subdue it. Here he concluded a treaty with Attalus king of Pergamus, by virtue of which they united their forces against their common enemy. They attacked him with so much vigour, that he abandoned the open country to them, and shut himself up in Sardis, to which Antiochus laying siege, Achæus held it out above a year. He often made sallies, and a great many battles were fought under the walls of the city. At

(s) A. M. 3788, Ant. J. C. 216. Polyb. l. 5. p. 444.

last, by a stratagem of Ligoras, one of Antiochus's commanders, Sardis was taken. Achæus retired into the citadel, where he defended himself, till he was delivered up by two traitorous Cretans. This fact confirms the truth of the proverb which said, that *the * Cretans were liars and knaves.*

(t) Ptolemy Philopator had made a treaty with Achæus, and was very sorry for his being so closely blocked up in the castle of Sardis; and therefore commanded Sosibes to relieve him at any price whatsoever. There was then in Ptolemy's court a very cunning Cretan, Bolis by name, who had lived a considerable time at Sardis. Sosibes consulted this man, and asked whether he could not think of some method for Achæus's escape. The Cretan desired time to consider of it; and returning to Sosibes, offered to undertake it, and explained to him the manner in which he intended to proceed. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was also his near relation, Cambylus by name, a captain in the Cretan troops in Antiochus's service: that he commanded at that time in a fort behind the castle of Sardis, and that he would prevail with him to let Achæus escape that way. His project being approved, he was sent with the utmost speed to Sardis to put it in execution, and ten † talents were given him to defray his expences, &c. and a much more considerable sum promised him in case he succeeded. After his arrival, he communicates the affair to Cambylus, when those two miscreants agree, (for their greater advantage) to go and reveal their design to Antiochus. They offered that prince, as they themselves had determined, to play their parts so well; that instead of procuring Achæus's escape, they would bring him to him, upon condition of receiving a considerable reward, to be divided among them, as well as the ten talents which Bolis had already received.

(t) Polyb. l. 8. p. 522—531.

* Κρητες ἀνὶ ψευδαί, καὶ ἀνὶ δολοῖα. S. Paul. Epist. ad Tit. i. 12.

† Ten thousand french crowns.

(u) Antiochus was overjoyed at what he had heard, and promised them a reward that sufficed to engage them to do him that important service. Upon this Bolis, by Cambylus's assistance, easily got admission into the castle, where the credentials he produced from Sofibes and some other of Achæus's friends, gained him the entire confidence of that ill-fated prince. Accordingly he trusted himself to those two wretches, who, the instant he was out of the castle, seized and delivered him to Antiochus. This king caused him to be immediately beheaded, and thereby put an end to that war of Asia; for the moment those who still sustained the siege heard of Achæus's death, they surrendered; and a little after, all the other places in the provinces of Asia did the same.

Rebels very seldom come to a good end; and though the perfidy of such traitors strikes us with horror, and raises our indignation, we are not inclined to pity the unhappy fate of Achæus, who had made himself worthy of it, by his infidelity to his sovereign.

(x) It was about this time that the discontent of the Egyptians against Philopator began to break out. According to Polybius, it occasioned a civil war; but neither himself nor any other author gives us the particulars of it.

(y) We also read in Livy, that the Romans some time after sent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, (doubtless the same queen who before was called Arsinoë) to renew their antient friendship and alliance with Egypt. These carried as a present to the king, a robe and purple tunic, with an ivory * chair; and to the queen an embroidered robe, and a purple scarf. Such kind of presents show the happy simplicity which in those ages prevailed among the Romans.

(u) A. M. 3789. Ant. J. C. 215.
p. 444.
Liv. l. 27. c. 4.

(x) Polyb. l. 5.

(y) A. M. 3794. Ant. J. C. 210.

* This was allowed in Rome to none but the highest officers in the state.

(z) Philopator had at this time by † Arsinoe, his wife and sister, a son called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who succeeded him at five years of age.

(a) Philopator, from the signal victory he had obtained over Antiochus, had abandoned himself to pleasures and excesses of every kind. Agathoclea his concubine, Agathocles the brother of that woman, and their mother, governed him entirely. He spent all his time in gaming, drinking, and the most infamous irregularities. His nights were passed in debauches, and his days in feasts and dissolute revels. Forgetting entirely the king, instead of applying himself to the affairs of state, he valued himself upon presiding in concerts, and playing upon instruments. The * women disposed of every thing. They conferred all employments and governments; and no one had less authority in the kingdom than the prince himself. Sosibes, an old, artful minister, who had served during three reigns, was at the helm, and his great experience had made him very capable of the administration; not indeed entirely in the manner he desired, but as the favourites would permit him to act; and he was so wicked, as to pay a blind obedience to the most unjust commands of a corrupt prince, and his unworthy favourites.

(b) Arsinoe, the king's sister and wife, had no

(x) A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209. Justin. l. 30. c. 4. (a) A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Justin. l. 30. c. 1 & 2. Polyb. in Excerpt. Valef. l. 15, 16.

(b) Liv. l. 27. c. 4.

† Justin calls her Eurydice. In case he is not mistaken, this queen had three names, Arsinoe, Cleopatra, and Eurydice. But Cleopatra was a name common to the queens of Egypt, as that of Ptolemy was to the kings. As archbishop Usher places the adventure of Hyrcanus the Jew at the birth of Ptolemy Epiphanes, I had inserted it there in the first edition of this work. But as Josephus, from

whom it is taken, says, that it happened in the reign of Seleucus the son of Antiochus the Great, I have transferred it to that time, as dean Prideaux does also, that is to say, to the birth of Ptolemy Philometor, 187 years before Jesus Christ.

* Tribunatus, præfecturas, & ducatus mulieres ordinabant; nec quisquam in regno suo minus, quam ipse rex, poterat. Justin.

power or authority at court; the favourites and the prime minister did not show her the least respect. On the other side, the queen was not patient enough to suffer every thing without murmuring; and they at last grew weary of her complaints. The king, and those who governed him, commanded Sosibes to rid them of her. He obeyed, and employed for that purpose one Philammon, who, without doubt, did not want experience in such cruel and barbarous assassinations.

This last action, added to so many more of the most flagrant nature, displeased the people so much, that Sosibes was obliged, before the king's death, to quit his employment. He was succeeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in the army by his valour and conduct. He had all the voices in a grand council held for the chusing a prime minister. Sosibes resigned to him the king's seal, which was the badge of his office. Tlepolemus performed the several functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom during the king's life. But though this was not long, he discovered but too plainly that he had not all the qualities necessary for supporting so great an employment. He had neither the experience, ability, nor application of his predecessor. As he had the administration of all the finances, and disposed of all the honours and dignities of the state, and all payments passed through his hands, every body, as is usual, was assiduous in making their court to him. He was extremely liberal, but then his bounty was bestowed without choice or discernment; and almost solely on those who shared in his parties of pleasure. The extravagant flatteries of those who were for ever crowding about his person, made him fancy his talents superior to those of all other men. He assumed haughty airs, gave into luxury and profusion, and at last grew insupportable to all the world.

The wars of the east have made me suspend the re-

lation of the affairs that happened in Greece during their continuance : we now return to them.

SECT. II. *The Ætolians declare against the Achæans. Battle of Caphyia lost by Aratus. The Achæans address Philip, who undertakes their defence. Troubles break out in Lacedæmonia. The unhappy death of Cleomenes in Egypt. Two kings are elected in Lacedæmonia. That republic joins with the Ætolians.*

(b) THE Ætolians, particularly in the time we are now speaking of, were become a very powerful people in Greece. Originally their territories extended from the river Achelous, to the strait of the gulph of Corinth, and to the country of the Locrians, surnamed Ozolæ. But in process of time, they had possessed themselves of several cities in Acarnania, Thessaly, and other neighbouring countries. They led much the same life upon land as pirates do at sea, that is, they exercised themselves perpetually in plunder and rapine. Wholly bent on lucre, they did not consider any gain as infamous or unlawful; and were entire strangers to the laws of peace or war. They were very much inured to toils, and intrepid in battle. They signalized themselves particularly in the war against the Gauls, who made an irruption into Greece; and showed themselves zealous defenders of the public liberty against the Macedonians. The increase of their power had made them haughty and insolent. That haughtiness appeared in the answer they gave the Romans, when they sent ambassadors to order them not to infest Acarnania. They expressed, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius, or (c) Justin his epitomizer, the highest contempt for Rome, which they termed only in its origin a shameful receptacle of thieves and robbers, founded and built by frâtricide, and formed by an assemblage of women ravished from the arms of

(b) Strab. l. 10. p. 450. Polyb. 331. & 746. Pausan. l. 10. p. 650.

(c) Justin. l. 28. c. 2.

their parents. They added, that the Ætolians had always distinguished themselves in Greece, as much by their valour as their virtue and descent; that neither Philip nor Alexander his son had been formidable to them; and that at a time when the latter made the whole earth tremble, they had not been afraid to reject his edicts and injunctions. That therefore the Romans would not do well, to rouse the Ætolians against them; a people, whose arms had extirpated the Gauls, and despised the Macedonians. The reader may, from this speech, form a judgment of the Ætolians, of whom much will be said in the sequel.

(d) From the time that Cleomenes of Sparta had lost his kingdom, and Antigonus, by his victory at Selasia, had in some measure restored the peace of Greece; the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, who were tired by the first wars, and imagined that affairs would always continue on the same foot, had laid their arms aside, and totally neglected military discipline. The Ætolians meditated taking advantage of this indolence. Peace was insupportable to them, as it obliged them to subsist at their own expence, accustomed as they were to support themselves wholly by rapine. Antigonus had kept them in awe, and prevented them from infesting their neighbours; but, after his death, despising Philip, because of his youth, they marched into Peloponnesus sword in hand, and laid waste the territories of the Messenians. Aratus, exasperated at this perfidy and insolence, and seeing that Timoxenes, at that time captain-general of the Achæans, endeavoured to gain time, because his year was near expiring; as he was nominated to succeed him the following year, he took upon him the command five days before the due time, in order to march the sooner to the aid of the Messenians. (e) Accordingly, having assembled the Achæans, whose vigour and strength had suffered

(d) Polyb. l. 4. p. 272—292. Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.

(e) A. M. 3783. Ant. J. C. 221.

by repose and inactivity; he was defeated near Caphyia, in a great battle fought there.

Aratus was charged with being the cause of this defeat, and not without some foundation. He endeavoured to prove that the loss of the battle imputed to him was not his fault. He declared that, however this might be, if he had been wanting in any of the duties of an able commander, he asked pardon; and intreated that his actions might be examined with less rigour than indulgence. His humility, on this occasion, changed the minds of the whole assembly, whose fury now turned against his accusers, and nothing was afterwards undertaken but by his counsel. However, the remembrance of his defeat had exceedingly damped his courage; so that he behaved as a wise citizen, rather than as an able warrior; and though the Ætolians often gave him opportunities to distress them, he took no advantage of them, but suffered that people to lay waste the whole country almost with impunity.

The Achæans were therefore forced to apply to Macedonia again, and to call in king Philip to their assistance, in hopes that the affection he bore Aratus, and the confidence he had in him, would incline that monarch to favour them. And indeed Antigonus, at his last moments, had, above all things, intreated Philip to keep well with Aratus; and to follow his counsel, in treating with the Achæans. Some time before, he had sent him into Peloponnesus, to form himself under his eye, and by his counsels. Aratus gave him the best reception in his power; treated him with the distinction due to his rank; and endeavoured to instil into him such principles and sentiments, as might enable him to govern with wisdom the great kingdom to which he was heir. Accordingly, that young prince returned into Macedonia with the highest sentiments of esteem for Aratus, and the most favourable disposition with regard to the welfare of Greece.

But the courtiers, whose interest it was to remove a person of Aratus's known probity, in order to have
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the sole ascendant over their young prince, made that monarch suspect his conduct ; and prevailed so far, as to make him declare openly against Aratus. Nevertheless, finding soon after that he had been imposed upon, he punished the informers with great severity, the sole means to banish for ever from princes that calumny, which impunity, and sometimes money, raise up and arm against persons of the most consummate virtue. Philip afterwards reposed the same confidence in Aratus as he had formerly done, and resolved to be guided by his counsels only ; which was manifest on several occasions, and particularly in the affair of Lacedæmonia. (f) That unhappy city was perpetually torn by seditions, in one of which, one of the Ephori, and a great many other citizens were killed, because they had declared for king Philip. When that prince arrived from Macedonia, he gave audience to the ambassadors of Sparta at Tegea, whither he had sent for them. In the council he held there, several were of opinion, that he should treat that city as Alexander had treated Thebes. But the king rejected that proposal with horror, and contented himself with punishing the principal authors of the insurrection. Such an instance of moderation and wisdom in a king, who was but seventeen years of age, was greatly admired ; and every one was persuaded, that it was owing to the good counsels of Aratus. However, he did not always make the same use of them.

(g) Being arrived at Corinth, complaints were made to him by many cities against the Ætolians ; and accordingly war was unanimously declared against them. This was called the war of the allies, which began much about the same time that Hannibal was meditating the siege of Saguntum. This decree was sent to all the cities, and ratified in the general assembly of the Achæans. The Ætolians, on the other side, prepared for war ; and elected Scopas their general, the principal contriver of the broils they had raised, and

(f) Polyb. p. 292—294.

(g) Polyb. l. 4. p. 294—299.

the havock they had made. Philip now marched back his forces into Macedonia; and, whilst they were in winter quarters, was very diligent in making the necessary military preparations. He endeavoured to strengthen himself by the aid of his allies, few of whom answered his views; colouring their delays with false and specious pretences. He also sent to king Ptolemy, to intreat him not to aid the Ætolians either with men or money.

(b) Cleomenes was at that time in Egypt; but as an horrid licentiousness prevailed in that court, and the king regarded nothing but pleasures and excesses of every kind, Cleomenes led a very melancholy life there. Nevertheless Ptolemy, in the beginning of his reign, had made use of Cleomenes: for, as he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the soldiery; he contracted a stricter amity with Cleomenes, and admitted him into his most secret councils, in which means for getting rid of his brother were consulted. Cleomenes was the only person who opposed it; he declaring, that a king cannot have any ministers more zealous for his service, or more obliged to aid him in sustaining the weighty burthen of government, than his brothers. This advice prevailed for that time: but Ptolemy's fears and suspicions returning, he imagined there would be no way to get rid of them, but by taking away the life of him that occasioned them. (i) After this he thought himself secure; fondly concluding, that he had no enemies to fear, either at home or abroad; because Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, had left no other successors but Philip and Antiochus, both whom he despised on account of their minority. In this security he devoted himself entirely to all sorts of pleasures, which were never interrupted by cares or applications of any kind. Neither his courtiers, nor those who had employments in

(b) A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Plut. in Cleom. p. 820—823.

(i) Polyb. l. 5. p. 380—385.

the state, dared to approach him; and he would scarce deign to bestow the least attention to what passed in the neighbouring kingdoms. That, however was what employed the attention of his predecessors, even more than the affairs of their own dominions. Being possessed of Coelosyria and Cyprus, they awed the kings of Syria both by sea and land. As the most considerable cities, the ports and harbours which lie along the coast from Pamphylia to the Hellespont, and the places in the neighbourhood of Lyfimachia, were subject to them; from thence they had an eye on the princes of Asia, and even on the islands. How would it have been possible for any one to move in Thrace and Macedonia, whilst they had the command of Ene, or Maronea, and of cities that lay at a still greater distance? With so extensive a dominion, and so many strong places, which served them as barriers, their own kingdom was secure. They therefore had always great reason to keep a watchful eye over what was transacting without doors. Ptolemy, on the contrary, disdained to give himself that trouble; wine and women being his only pleasure and employment.

With such dispositions, the reader will easily suppose that he could have no great esteem for Cleomenes. The instant the latter had news of Antigonus's death; that the Achæans were engaged in a great war with the Ætolians; that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter against the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things seemed to recall him to his native country; he solicited earnestly to leave Alexandria. He therefore implored the king to favour him with troops and munitions of war sufficient for his return. Finding he could not obtain his request, he desired that he at least might be suffered to depart with his family; and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for repossessing himself of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much employed in his pleasures, to lend an ear to Cleomenes's intreaties.

Sofibes, who at that time had great authority in the kingdom, assembled his friends; and in this council a resolution was formed, not to furnish Cleomenes either with a fleet or provisions. They believed that a needless expence; for, from the death of Antigonus, all affairs without doors had seemed to them of no importance. Besides, this council were apprehensive that as Antigonus was dead, and as there was none to oppose Cleomenes, that prince, after having made an expeditious conquest of Greece, would become a very formidable enemy to Egypt: what increased their fears was, his having thoroughly studied the state of the kingdom, his knowing its strong and weak side, his having the king in the utmost contempt; and seeing a great many parts of the kingdom separated and at a great distance, which an enemy might have a thousand opportunities of invading. For these reasons, it was not thought proper to grant Cleomenes the fleet and other succours he desired. On the other side, to give so bold and enterprizing a prince leave to depart, after having refused him in so contemptuous a manner, would be making an enemy of him, who would certainly, one time or other, remember the affront which had been put upon him. Sofibes was therefore of opinion, that it was not even safe to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had let drop, came then into his mind. In a council, where Magas was the subject of the debate, that prime minister was afraid lest this prince should prevail with the foreign soldiers to make an insurrection: *I answer for them*, says Cleomenes, speaking of those of Peloponnesus; *and you may depend, that upon the first signal I give, they all will take up arms in your favour*. This made Sofibes hesitate no longer: on a fictitious accusation, and which he corroborated by a letter he himself had forged in that unhappy prince's name, he prevailed with the king to seize his person; and to imprison him in a secure place, and maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of seeing his friends, but not of going abroad.

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This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepest affliction and melancholy. As he did not perceive any end of his calamities, he formed such a resolution, in concert with those friends who used to visit him, as despair only could suggest ; and this was, to return the injustice of Ptolemy by force of arms ; to stir up his subjects against him ; to die a death worthy of Sparta ; and not to wait, as stalled victims, till it was thought proper to sacrifice them.

His friends having found means to get him out of the prison, they all ran in a body, with drawn swords, into all the streets ; exhorting and calling upon the populace to recover their liberty ; but not a man joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and some other noblemen who came to oppose them ; and afterwards ran to the citadel, with intention to force the gates of it, and set all the prisoners at liberty ; but they found these shut and strongly barricaded. Cleomenes, now lost to all hopes, ran up and down the city, during which not a soul either followed or opposed him ; but all fled through fear. But seeing it would be impossible for them to succeed in their enterprise, they terminated it in a tragical and bloody manner, by running upon each other's swords to avoid the infamy of punishment. Thus died Cleomenes, after reigning sixteen years over Sparta. The king caused his body to be hanged on a cross, and ordered his mother, children, and all the women who attended them to be put to death. When that unhappy princess was brought to the place of execution, the only favour she asked was, that she might die before her children. But they began with them ; a torment more grievous to a mother than death itself ; after which she presented her neck to the executioner, saying only these words : *Ah ! my dear children, to what a place did you come ?*

The design of Agis and Cleomenes, to reform Sparta and revive its antient discipline, was certainly very laudable in itself : and both had reason to think, that in a state wholly infected and corrupted as that of
Sparta.

Sparta then was ; to pretend to reform abuses one after another, and remedy disorders by degrees, was only cutting off the heads of an Hydra ; and therefore, that it would be absolutely necessary to root up the evil at one blow. However, I cannot say whether Plato's maxim * should not take place here, *viz.* that nothing should be attempted in a state, but what the citizens might be prevailed on to admit by gentle means, and that violence should never be employed. Are there not some diseases in which medicines would only hasten death ? And have not † some disorders gained so great an ascendant in a state, that to attempt a reformation at such a time, would only discover the impotency of the magistrates and laws ? But, a circumstance which admits of no excuse in Cleomenes, is, his having, against all the laws of reason and justice, murdered the Ephori, in order to get success to his enterprize ; a conduct absolutely tyrannical, unworthy of a Spartan, and more unworthy of a king : and which at the same time seemed to give a sanction to those tyrants, who afterwards made such wild havock in Lacedæmonia. And indeed, Cleomenes himself has been called a tyrant by some historians, with whom they even began ‖ the succession of tyrants.

(k) During the three years that Cleomenes had left Sparta, the citizens had not thought of nominating kings, from the hopes they entertained, that he would return again ; and had always preserved the highest esteem and veneration for him. But, as soon as news was brought of his death, they proceeded to the election of kings. They first nominated Agefipolis, a

(k) Polyb. l. 4. p. 301.

* Jubeat Plato, quem ego auctorem vehementer sequor, Tantum contendere in republica, quantum probare civibus tuis possis : vim neque parenti neque patriæ afferre oportere. *Cic. l. 1. Epist. 9. ad Famil.*

† Decebat omittere potius præ-

valida & adulta vitia, quàm hos adsequi, ut palam fieret quibus flagitiis impares essemus. *Tacit. Annal. l. 3. c. 53.*

‖ Post mortem Cleomenis, qui primus Tyrannus Lacedæmone fuit. *Liv. l. 34. n. 26.*

child,

child, descended from one of the royal families, and appointed his uncle Cleomenes his governor. Afterwards they chose Lycurgus, none of whose ancestors had reigned, but who had bribed the Ephori, by giving each of them a * talent, which was putting the crown to sale at a very low price. They soon had reason to repent their choice, which was in direct opposition to all laws, and never had example. The factious party, which opposed Philip openly, and committed the most enormous violences in the city, had presided in this election; and immediately after, they caused Sparta to declare in favour of the Ætolians.

SECT. III. *Various expeditions of Philip against the enemies of the Achæans. Apelles his prime minister abuses his confidence in an extraordinary manner. Philip makes an inroad into Ætolia. Thermæ taken at the first assault. Excesses of Philip's soldiers in that city. Prudent retreat of that prince. Tumults in the camp. Punishment of those who had occasioned them. Inroad of Philip into Laconia. The conspirators form new cabals. Punishment inflicted on them. A peace is proposed between Philip and the Achæans on one side, and the Ætolians on the other, which at last is concluded.*

(1) **W**E have already related, that Philip king of Macedon, being called in by the Achæans to their aid, was come to Corinth where their general assembly was held; and that there, war had been unanimously declared against the Ætolians. The king returned afterwards to Macedonia, to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war.

Philip brought over Scerdiledes to the alliance with the Achæans. He was, as has been observed, a petty king of Illyria. The Ætolians, whose ally he was, had broke their engagements with him, by refusing to give him a certain share of the spoils they had made

(1) A. M. 3784. Ant. J. C. 220. Polyb. l. 4. p. 294—306.

* A thousand crowns.

at the taking of Cynethium, according to the articles agreed upon between them. Philip embraced with joy this opportunity of revenging their perfidy.

(*n*) Demetrius of Pharos joined also with Philip. We have already seen that the Romans, in whose favour he had declared at first, had bestowed on him several of the cities they had conquered in Illyria. As the chief revenue of those petty princes had consisted hitherto in the spoils they got from their neighbours; when the Romans were removed, he could not forbear plundering the cities and territories subject to them. Besides, Demetrius, as well as Scerdiledes, had failed, on the same design, beyond the city of Issus; which was a direct infraction of the chief article of the treaty, concluded with queen Teuta. For these reasons the Romans declared war against Demetrius. Accordingly Æmilius attacked him with great vigour, dispossessed him of his strongest fortresses, besieged him in Pharos, from whence he escaped with the utmost difficulty. The city surrendered to the Romans. (*o*) Demetrius, being dispossessed of all his dominions, fled to Philip, who received him with open arms. This offended the Romans very much, who thereupon sent ambassadors to him, demanding Demetrius to be delivered up. However Philip, who revolved at that time the design which broke out soon after, paid no regard to their demand; and Demetrius spent the remainder of his days with that monarch. He was a valiant and bold man, but at the same time rash and inconsiderate in his enterprizes; and his courage was entirely void of prudence and judgment.

The Achæans, being on the point of engaging in a considerable war, sent to their allies. The Acarnanians joined them very chearfully, though at their great danger, as they lay nearest the Ætolians, and consequently were most exposed to the inroads of that people. Polybius praises their fidelity exceedingly.

(*n*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 171—174. Lib. 4. p. 285—305—330.

(*o*) Liv. l. 22. n. 33.

The people of Epirus did not show so much good will, and seemed desirous of continuing neuter: nevertheless, they engaged in the war a little after.

Deputies were also sent to king Ptolemy, to desire him not to assist the Ætolians either with troops or money.

The Messenians, for whose sake that war had been first begun, no way answered the hopes which had been naturally entertained, *viz.* of their employing their whole force to carry it on.

The Lacedæmonians had declared at first for the Achæans: but the contrary faction caused the decree to be reversed, and they joined the Ætolians. It was on this occasion, as I have said before, that Age-sipolis and Lycurgus were elected kings of Sparta.

Aratus the younger, son of the great Aratus, was at that time supreme magistrate of the Achæans, and Scopas was the same over the Ætolians.

(p) Philip marched from Macedonia with fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Having crossed Thessaly he arrived in Epirus. Had he marched directly to the Ætolians, he would have come upon them unawares, and have defeated them: but, at the request of the Epirots, he laid siege to Ambracia, which employed him forty days, and gave the enemy time to prepare for, and wait his coming up. They did more. Scopas, at the head of a body of Ætolians, advanced into Macedonia; made dreadful havock, and returned in a very short time laden with spoils, which did him prodigious honour, and greatly animated his forces. However, this did not hinder Philip from entering Ætolia, and seizing on a great number of important fortresses. He would have entirely conquered it, had not the news he received, that the Dardanians * intended to make an inroad into his kingdom, obliged him to return thither. At his departure, he

(p) Polyb. l. 4. p. 325—330.

* These people were neighbours of Macedonia on the north of that kingdom.

promised the ambassadors of the Achæans to return soon to their assistance. His sudden arrival disconcerted the Dardaniens, and put a stop to their enterprise. He then returned to Thessaly, with an intention to pass the rest of the summer in Larissa.

(9) In the mean time Dorimachus, whom the Ætolians had just before nominated their general, entered Epirus, laid waste all the open country, and did not spare even the temple of Dodona.

Philip, though it was now the depth of winter, having left Larissa, arrived at Corinth, without any one's having had the least notice of his march. He there ordered the elder Aratus to attend him, and by a letter to his son, who commanded the forces this year, gave him orders whither to march them. Caphyia was to be the rendezvous. Euripidas, who knew nothing of Philip's arrival, was then marching a detachment of above two thousand natives of Elis, to lay waste the territory of Sicyone. They fell into the hands of Philip, and all except an hundred were either killed or taken prisoners.

The king, having joined Aratus the younger with his forces, at the rendezvous appointed, marched towards Psophis * in order to besiege it. This was a very daring attempt; for the city was thought almost impregnable, as well from its natural situation, as from the fortifications which had been added to it. It being the depth of winter, the inhabitants were of opinion that no one would, or even could, attack them: Philip however did it with success; for first the city, and afterwards the citadel, surrendered after making some resistance. As they were very far from expecting to be besieged, the want of ammunition and provisions very much facilitated the taking of that city. Philip gave it very generously to the Achæans, to whom it was of the most signal service; assuring them that there was nothing he desired more than to

(9) Polyb. p. 330—336.

* A city of Arcadia.

oblige them; and to give them the strongest proofs of his zeal and affection for their interest. A prince who acts in this manner is truly great, and does honour to the royal dignity.

From thence, after possessing himself of some other cities, which he also gave to his allies, he marched to Elis, in order to lay it waste. It was very rich and populous, and the inhabitants of the country were in a flourishing condition. Formerly this territory had been accounted sacred, on account of the Olympic games solemnized there every four years; and all the nations of Greece had agreed to infect or carry war into it. But the Eleans had themselves been the occasion of their losing that privilege, because, like other states, they had engaged in the wars of Greece. Here Philip got a very considerable booty, with which he enriched his troops, after which he retired to Olympia.

(q) Among the several courtiers of king Philip, Appelles held the chief rank, and had a great ascendant over his sovereign, whose governor he had been: but, as generally happens on these occasions, he very much abused his power, which he employed wholly in oppressing particular persons and states. He had taken it into his head, to reduce the Achæans to the same condition in which Thessaly was at that time; that is, to subject them absolutely to the commands of the ministers of Macedonia, by leaving them only the name, and a vain shadow of liberty: and to accustom them to the yoke, he spared them no kind of injurious treatment. Aratus complained of this to Philip, who was highly exasperated upon that account; and accordingly assured him, he would give such orders, that nothing of that kind should happen for the future. Accordingly, he enjoined Appelles never to lay any commands on the Achæans, but in concert with their general. This was behaving with an indolent tenderness towards a statesman, who having so shamefully abused his master's confidence, had therefore deserved

(q) Polyb. p. 338, 339.

to be entirely disgraced. The Achæans, overjoyed at the favour which Philip showed them, and with the orders he had given for their peace and security, were continually bestowing the highest encomiums on that prince, and extolling his exalted qualities. And indeed, he possessed all those which can endear a king to his people; such as a lively genius, an happy memory, easy elocution, and an unaffected grace in all his actions; a beautiful aspect, heightened by a noble and majestic air, which struck the beholders with awe and respect; a sweetness of temper, affability, and a desire to please universally; to finish the picture, a valour, an intrepidity, and an experience in war, which far exceeded his years: So that one can hardly conceive the strange alteration that afterwards appeared in his morals and behaviour.

(r) Philip having possessed himself of Aliphera, a very strong city, the greatest part of the people of that country, astonished at the rapidity of his conquest, and weary of the Ætolian tyranny, submitted to his arms. Thus, he soon made himself master of all Triphylia.

(s) At this time, Chilo the Lacedæmonian, pretending he had a better right to the crown than Lycurgus, on whose head they had placed it, resolved to dispossess him of it, and set it on his own. Having engaged in his party about two hundred citizens, he entered the city in a forcible manner, killed the Ephori who were at table together, and marched directly towards Lycurgus's house, intending to kill him; but hearing the tumult, he had made his escape. Chilo then went into the great square of the city, exhorted the citizens to recover their liberty; making them, at the same time, the greatest promises. Seeing, however, that he could make no impression on them, and that he had failed of his blow, he sentenced himself to banishment, and retired to Achaia. It is surprizing to see Sparta, formerly so jealous of its liberty, and

(r) Polyb. p. 339—343.

(s) Idem, p. 343, 344.

mistress of all Greece till the battle of Leuctra, now filled with tumults and insurrections, and ignominiously subjected to a kind of tyrants, that before could not so much as suffer the name. Such were the effects of their having violated Lycurgus's laws; and especially their introducing gold and silver into Sparta; which drew after them, by insensible degrees, the lust of power, avarice, pride, luxury, effeminacy, immorality, and all those vices which are generally inseparable from riches.

(*t*) Philip being arrived at Argos, spent the rest of the winter there. Apelles had not yet laid aside the design he meditated, of enslaving the Achæans. But Aratus, for whom the king had a very particular regard, and in whom he reposed the highest confidence, was an invincible obstacle to his project. He therefore resolved, if possible, to get rid of him; for this purpose he sent privately for all those who were his secret enemies, and used his utmost endeavours to gain them the prince's favour. After this, in all his discourses with him, he hinted, that so long as Aratus should enjoy any authority in the republic of the Achæans, he (Philip) would have no power; and would be as much subject to their laws and usages, as the meanest of their citizens; whereas, were he to raise to the chief administration of affairs, some person who might be entirely dependent on him, he then might act as sovereign; and govern others, instead of being himself governed. The new friends enforced these reflections, and refined on the arguments of Apelles. This idea of despotic power pleased the young king; and indeed it is the strongest temptation that can be laid in the way of princes. Accordingly he went for that purpose to Ægium, where the assembly of the states was held for the election of a new general; and prevailed so far by his promises and menaces, that he got Philoxenus, whom Aratus had declared duly elected, excluded; and obliged them to make choice of

(*t*) Polyb. l. 4. p. 344—349.

Eperatus, who was his direct enemy. Implicitly devoted to the will of his prime minister, he did not perceive that he degraded himself in the most ignominious manner; nothing being more abhorrent to free assemblies, such as those of Greece, than to make the least attempt in violation of the freedom of elections.

A person being chosen entirely unworthy of the post, as is commonly the case in all forced elections, Eperatus, having neither merit nor experience, was universally despised. As Aratus intermeddled no longer in public affairs, nothing was well done, and all things were hastening to their ruin. Philip, who was blamed for all miscarriages, became sensible that very pernicious counsels had been given him. Upon this, he again had recourse to Aratus, and reinstated him entirely in his friendship and confidence; and perceiving that after this step his affairs flourished visibly, and that his reputation and power increased daily; he would not make use of any counsel but that of Aratus, as the only man to whom he owed all his grandeur and glory. Who would not imagine, after such evident and repeated proofs, on one side of Aratus's innocence, and on the other of Apelles's black malice, that Philip would have been undeceived for ever; and have been fully sensible which of the two had the most sincere zeal to his service? The sequel, however, will show, that jealousy never dies but with the object that excited it; and that princes seldom overcome prejudices grateful to their authority.

A new proof of this soon appeared. As the inhabitants of Elis refused the advantageous conditions which Philip offered them by one Amphidamus, Apelles hinted to him, that so unreasonable a refusal was owing to the ill services which Aratus did him clandestinely, though outwardly he pretended to have his interest very much at heart: that he alone had kept Amphidamus from enforcing (as he ought to have done, and as he had engaged to do) to the inhabitants of Elis, the offers which the king made them: and
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on this foundation he invented a long story, and named several witnesses. The king, however, was so just, as to insist upon his prime minister's repeating these accusations, in presence of the man whom he charged with them: and this Apelles did not scruple to do, and that with such an air of assurance, or rather impudence, as might have disconcerted the most virtuous man. He even added, that the king would lay this affair before the council of the Achæans, and leave to them the decision of it. This was what he wanted; firmly persuaded, that by the authority he had there, he should not fail to get him condemned. Aratus, in making his defence, began by beseeching the king, not to give too much credit to the several things laid to his charge. That a justice which a king, more than any other man, owed to a person accused, was to command that a strict enquiry be made into the several articles of the accusation, and till then to suspend his judgment. In consequence of this he required, that Apelles should be obliged to produce his witnesses; him especially, from whom he pretended to have heard the several particulars laid to his charge; and that they should omit none of the methods used and prescribed in stating a fact before it was laid before the public council. The king thought Aratus's demand very just and reasonable, and promised it should be complied with. However, the time passed on, and Apelles did not prepare to give in his proofs: But how would it have been possible for him to do that? An unforeseen accident brought Amphidamus, by a kind of chance, to the city of Dyma, whither Philip was come to settle some affairs. Aratus snatched the opportunity; and begged the king himself to take cognizance of this matter. He complied with Aratus's request, and found that there was not the least grounds for the charge. Accordingly Aratus was pronounced innocent, but without any punishment being inflicted on the calumniator.

This impunity emboldened him the more; so that
he

he continued his secret intrigues, in order to remove those who gave him the least umbrage. Besides Apelles, there were four other persons who divided the chief offices of the crown among them, and at the same time enjoyed the king's confidence. Antigonus had appointed them by his will, and assigned each of them his employment. His principal view in this choice was, to prevent those cabals which are almost inseparable from the minority of an infant prince. Two of these noblemen, Leontius and Megaleas, were entirely at the devotion of Apelles; but as to the two other, Taurion and Alexander, he had not the same ascendant over them; the former of the two last presided over the affairs of Peloponnesus, and the second had the command of the guards. Now the prime minister wanted to give their employments to noblemen on whom he could entirely rely, and who would be as much devoted to his views as he could wish them. However, he behaved in a different manner towards them: for, says Polybius, courtiers have the art of moulding themselves into all shapes, and employ either praise or slander to gain their ends. Whenever Taurion was mentioned, Apelles would applaud his merit, his courage, his experience; and speak of him as a man, worthy of the king's more intimate confidence: He did this in the view of detaining him at court, and procuring the government of Peloponnesus (a place of great importance, and which required the presence of the person invested with it) for one of his creatures. Whenever Alexander was the subject of the discourse, he represented him in the most odious colours to the king, and even endeavoured to render his fidelity suspected; in order to remove him from court, that his post might be given to some person who might depend entirely on him. Polybius will show hereafter, what was the result of all these secret machinations. He only hints in this place, that Apelles was at last taken in his own snare, and met with the treatment he was preparing for others. But we shall first see him

commit the blackest and most abominable injustice in the person of Aratus, and even extend his criminal designs, to the king himself.

(u) I before observed, that Philip having discovered that he had been more than once imposed upon, had restored Aratus to his favour and confidence. Supported by his credit and counsels he went to the assembly of the Achæans, appointed, on his account, at Sicyon. On the report he made of the state of his exchequer, and of the urgent necessity he was in of money to maintain his forces, a resolution was made to furnish him with fifty * talents, the instant his troops should set out upon their march; with three months pay for his soldiers, and ten thousand measures of wheat: and, that afterwards, as long as he should carry on the war in person in Peloponnesus, they should furnish him with seventeen † talents a month.

When the troops returned from their winter-quarters and were assembled, the king debated in council on the operations of the ensuing campaign. It was resolved to act by sea, because they thereby should infallibly divide the enemy's forces, from the uncertainty they must be under, with regard to the side on which they should be attacked. Philip was to make war on the inhabitants of Ætolia, Lacedæmonia, and Elis.

Whilst the king, who was now returned to Corinth, was forming his Macedonians for naval affairs, and employing them in the several exercises of the sea-service, Apelles, who found his credit diminish, and was exasperated to see the counsels of Aratus followed, and not his, took secret measures to defeat all the king's designs. His view was to make himself necessary to his sovereign; and to force him, by the ill posture of his affairs, to throw himself into the arms of a minister, who was best acquainted with, and then actually in the administration of them. How villanous

(u) Polyb. l. 5. p. 350—365.

* Fifty thousand crowns.

† Seventeen thousand crowns.

was this ! Apelles prevailed with Leontius and Megaleas, his two confidants, to behave with negligence in the employments with which they should be intrusted. As for himself, he went to Chalcis, upon pretence of having some affairs to transact there ; as his orders were punctually obeyed by every one, he stopt the convoys of money which were sending to the king ; and thereby reduced him to such necessity, that he was forced to pawn his plate to subsist himself and his household.

Philip having put to sea, arrived the second day at Patræ ; and sailing from thence to * Cephalenia, laid siege to Paleis, a city whose situation would be of great advantage to him, as a place of arms ; and enable him to infest the territories of his enemies. He caused the machines of war to be advanced, and mines to be run. One of the ways of making breaches was, to dig up the earth under the very foundation of the walls. When they were got to these, they propped and supported the walls with great wooden beams, to which the miners afterwards set fire, and then retired ; when presently great part of the wall would fall down. As the Macedonians had worked with incredible ardour, they very soon made a breach six hundred fathoms wide. Leontius was commanded to mount this breach with his troops. Had he exerted himself ever so little, the city would certainly have been taken : but he attacked the enemy very faintly, so that he was repulsed ; lost a great number of his men, and Philip was obliged to raise the siege.

The moment he began it, the enemy had sent Lycurgus with some troops into Messenia, and Dorimachus with half of the army into Thessaly, to oblige Philip, by this double diversion, to lay aside his enterprize. Deputies had arrived soon from the Acarnanians and Messenians. Philip, having raised the siege, assembled his council, to debate on which side he should turn his arms. The Messenians represented,

* *An island in the Ionian sea.*

that

that in one day the forces might march from Cephalenia into their country, and at once overpower Lycurgus, who did not expect to be so suddenly attacked. Leontius enforced this advice very strongly. His secret reason was, that as it would be impossible for Philip to return, as the winds would be directly contrary at that time, he therefore would be forced to stay there, by which means the campaign would be spent, and nothing done. The Acarnanians, on the contrary, were for marching directly into Ætolia, which was then unprovided with troops : declaring, that the whole country might be laid waste without the least resistance ; and that Dorimachus would be prevented from making an irruption into Macedonia. Aratus did not fail to declare in favour of the latter opinion ; and the king, who from the cowardly attack at Paleis began to suspect Leontius, went thither also.

Having provided for the urgent necessities of the Messenians, he went from Cephalenia, arrived the second day at Leucadia, from thence entered the gulph of Ambracia, and came a little before day-break to Limnæa. Immediately he commanded the soldiers to take some refreshment, to rid themselves of the greatest part of their baggage, and be ready for marching. In the afternoon, Philip having left the baggage under a strong guard, set out from Limnæa ; and marching about sixty furlongs he halted, to give his army some refreshment and rest. He then marched all night, and arrived at day-break at the river Achelous, intending to fall suddenly and unexpectedly upon Thermæ. Leontius advised the king to halt for some time, giving for his reason, that as the soldiers had been fatigued with the length of their march, it would be proper for them to take breath, but, in reality, to give the Ætolians time to prepare for their defence. Aratus on the contrary, knowing that opportunity is swift-winged, and that Leontius's advice was manifestly traiterous, conjured Philip to seize the favourable moment, and march out that instant.

The king, who was already offended at Leontius, and began to suspect him, sets out that instant, crosses the Achelous, and marches directly to Thermæ, through a very rugged and almost impervious road cut between very steep rocks. This was the capital city of the country, in which the Ætolians every year held their fairs and solemn assemblies, as well for the worship of the gods, as for the election of magistrates. As this city was thought impregnable, because of the advantage of its situation, and that no enemy had ever dared to approach it; the Ætolians used to leave their richest effects and all their wealth there, imagining they were very safe. But how great must be their surprize, when, at the close of the day, they saw Philip enter it with his army!

After having taken immense spoils in the night, the Macedonians pitched their camp. The next morning it was resolved that the most valuable effects should be carried away; and making a heap of the rest, at the head of the camp, they set fire to that pile. They did the same with regard to the arms which hung on the galleries of the temple; the best were laid by for service, and the remainder, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand, were burnt to ashes. Hitherto every thing which had been transacted was just, and agreeable to the laws of war.

But the Macedonians did not stop here. Transported with fury at the remembrance of the wild havoc which the Ætolians had made in Dium and Dodona, they set fire to the galleries of the temple, tore down all the offerings which hung on them, among which were some of exceeding beauty and prodigious value. Not satisfied with burning the roofs, they razed the temple. The statues, of which there were at least two thousand, were thrown down. A great number of them were broke to pieces; and those only spared which were known, by their form or inscriptions, to represent gods. They wrote the following verse on the walls.

Remember

Remember Dium ; Dium sends you this.

Doubtless, the horror with which the sacrileges committed by the Ætolians at Dium inspired Philip, and his allies, convinced them that they might revenge it by the commission of the like crimes ; and that they were then making just reprisals. However, says Polybius, the reader will allow me to think otherwise. To support his opinion, he cites three great examples, taken even from the family of the prince whose conduct he here censures. Antigonus, after having defeated Cleomenes king of the Lacedæmonians, and possessed himself of Sparta ; so far from extending his rage to the temples and sacred things, did not even make those he had conquered feel the effects of it ; on the contrary, he restored to them the form of government which they had received from their ancestors, and treated them with the highest testimonies of kindness and friendship. Philip, to whom the royal family owed all its splendor, and who defeated the Athenians at Chæronea, made them sensible of his power and victory by no other marks than his beneficence ; restoring their prisoners without ransom ; himself taking care even of the dead, ordering Antipater to convey their bones to Athens, and giving cloaths to such of the prisoners as were most in want of them. In fine, Alexander the Great, in the height of his fury against Thebes, which he razed to the ground, so far from being forgetful of the veneration due to the gods, took care not to suffer his soldiers, (even through imprudence) to do the least injury to the temples, and other sacred places : and a circumstance still more worthy our admiration ; in his war with the Persians, who had plundered and burnt most of the temples in Greece, Alexander spared and revered all places dedicated to the worship of the gods.

It would have been better, continues Polybius, if Philip, mindful of the examples his ancestors set him, had strove to show himself their successor more in mode-

ration and magnanimity, than their empire and power. The laws of war, indeed, frequently oblige a conqueror to demolish cities and citadels ; to fill up harbours, to take men and ships, to carry off the fruits of the earth, and to act things of a like nature, in order to lessen the strength of the enemy and increase his own. But to destroy what either cannot do him any prejudice, or will not contribute to the defeat of the enemy ; to burn temples, to break statues and such ornaments of a city in pieces ; certainly nothing but the wildest and most extravagant fury can be capable of such violence. It is not merely to ruin and destroy those who have done us injury, that we ought to declare war, in case we desire to be thought just and equitable ; but only to oblige such people to acknowledge, and make amends for their faults. The true end of war is not to involve in the same ruin the innocent and the guilty, but rather to save both. These are the sentiments of a soldier and an heathen.

Though Philip, on this occasion, shewed no great regard for religion, he acted like an excellent captain. His view, in putting to sea, was to go and surprize the city of Thermæ, during the absence of part of the Ætolian forces. To conceal his design, he took so large a tour, as left the enemy in doubt with regard to the place he intended to attack ; and which prevented their seizing some passes of mountains and defiles in which he might have been stopt short. Some rivers were to be passed : It was necessary for them to make the utmost haste, and turn short upon Ætolia, by a swift counter-march. This Philip does without listening to the advice of traitors. To lighten his army, he leaves his baggage. He goes through the straits without meeting the least obstacle, and enters Thermæ as if he had dropped from the skies ; so well he had concealed and hastened his march, of which the enemy do not seem to have had the least suspicion.

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His retreat was full as extraordinary. To secure it, he had seized upon several important posts; expecting that at his coming down, his rear-guard particularly would be attacked. It was accordingly charged at two different times; however, the prudent precautions he had taken, entirely baffled all the efforts of the enemy.

An enterprize so well concerted, so secretly carried on, and executed with so much wisdom and dispatch, surpasses the abilities of so young a prince as Philip; and seems to bear the character of a veteran warrior, long exercised in all the arts and stratagems of war. We can scarce doubt, (and Polybius seems to insinuate it evidently enough) but that Aratus, as he had been the first contriver of so noble a project, was also the soul, as it were, and chief agent in it afterwards. I have already observed, that his talents lay more in conducting a warlike stratagem; in forming extraordinary enterprizes, and in giving success to them by his bold counsels, than in executing them himself. How happy is it for a young prince to possess a general of this character; prudent, able, versed by long experience, and habituated to all the parts of the art of war; to be able to know the merit of these qualities; to be perfectly sensible of their high value; to be docile to his advice, though frequently contrary to his own taste and opinion, and to let himself be guided by such wise counsels. After the happy success of an action, the person whose advice directed it vanishes, and all the glory of it reflects upon the monarch. (x) Plutarch, who advances what I have now said, thinks it equally glorious in Philip to suffer himself to be guided by such good counsels, and to Aratus for having ability to suggest them.

When Philip, who had marched back the same way he came, was arrived at Limnæa, finding himself in repose and security, he offered sacrifices to the gods by way of thanksgiving, for the success they had given to his arms; and made a splendid banquet

(x) Plut. in Arat. p. 1049.

for his officers, who were as strongly affected as himself with the glory he had acquired. Leontius and Megaleas were the only persons who heartily repined at the good fortune of their sovereign. Every one soon perceived that they did not share with the rest of the company in the joy which so successful an expedition must naturally create. During the whole entertainment, they discovered their animosity against Aratus by the most injurious and most shocking raileries. But words were not all; for, at their rising from the banquet, heated with the fumes of wine and fired with anger, they threw stones at him all the way, till he was got into his tent. The whole army was in an uproar; and the noise reaching the king, he caused an exact enquiry to be made into the affair; and laying a fine of twenty * talents on Megaleas, he afterwards threw him into prison. Leontius, hearing of what had happened, ran with a crowd of soldiers to the king's tent; persuaded that he would be frightened at seeing so great a body of men, and for that reason be prompted to change his resolution. Being come into the king's presence, *Who has been so bold, says he, as to lay hands on Megaleas, and throw him into prison? It is I,* answered the king, in a lofty tone. This terrified Leontius; so that, after venting a deep sigh, he left the king's tent in a rage. Some days after, he was bound for the fine laid on Megaleas, who was then set at liberty.

(y) During Philip's expedition against Ætolia, Lycurgus the Spartan king had engaged in an enterprize against the Messenians, but it proved abortive. Dorimachus, who had led a considerable body of Ætolians into Thessaly, with an intention to lay waste the country, and to oblige Philip to raise the siege of Palleis in order to go and succour his allies, found troops there ready prepared to give him a warm reception.

(y) Polyb. l. 5. p. 365—372.

* Twenty thousand crowns.

He did not venture to attack them. The news of Philip's inroad into Ætolia, forced him to hasten thither, to defend his own country. But though he made the utmost expedition he arrived too late; the Macedonians having already quitted it.

Philip marched his army with almost incredible diligence. Having left Leucadia with his fleet, and being arrived at Corinth, he laid up his ships in the harbour of Lechæum, landed his troops, began his march, and passing through Argos, arrived on the twelfth day at Tegea, which he had fixed for the rendezvous with his allies. The Spartans having heard from rumour what had passed at Thermæ, were truly alarmed when they saw that young victor in their territories, where he was not expected so suddenly. Some actions passed, in which Philip had always the advantage; but I shall omit the particulars to avoid prolixity. Philip displayed, on all occasions, a bravery and prudence far above his years; and this expedition was almost as glorious to him as that of Ætolia. After laying waste the whole country, and taking abundance of spoils, he returned by the way of Argos to Corinth.

Here he found ambassadors of Rhodes and Chio, who came to offer him their mediation, and to incline both parties to peace. The king, dissembling his real intentions, told them that he had always wished, and still did so, to be at peace with the Ætolians; and therefore charged them, at their going away, to dispose their masters to it. He afterwards landed at Lechæum, in order to go from thence to Phocis, where he intended to engage in some more important enterprise.

The faction formed by Leontius, Megaleas and Ptolemy, who also was one of Philip's principal officers, having employed all the clandestine methods possible, to remove and destroy all those who either opposed, or were suspected by them; and seeing with grief, that those secret practices had not been as suc-

cessful as they had flattered themselves; they therefore resolved to make themselves formidable even to their sovereign, by employing the authority they had over the forces, to draw off their affections from him, and to attach them to their interest. The greatest part of their army had staid in Corinth: and they imagined, that the absence of the king gave them a favourable opportunity for executing their designs. They represented to the light-armed troops, and to the guards, that for the sake of the public welfare they exposed themselves to the greatest toils and dangers of war; that nevertheless justice had not been done them, nor the antient law relating to the distribution of plunder been observed with regard to them. The young people, fired by these seditious discourses, divide themselves into bands, plunder the houses of the greatest courtiers; and carry their fury to that excess, as to force the gates of the king's palace, and break to pieces the tiles which covered it. Immediately a great tumult broke out in the city, of which Philip having notice, he left Lechæum in great diligence. He then assembles the Macedonians in the theatre, where, in a speech intermixed with gentleness and severity, he makes them sensible of their fault. In the trouble and confusion which reigned at that time, some declared that it would be necessary to seize and punish the promoters of this insurrection; and others, that it would be more prudent to appease them by gentle methods, and forget all that was past.

The king was still young; so that his authority was not entirely confirmed in the minds of the people and soldiery. Those against him enjoyed the greatest posts in the kingdom, had governed it during his minority; had filled all employments with their creatures; had acquired a kind of unlimited power over all orders of the state; had the command of the forces, and during a long time had employed the most insinuating arts to gain their affection, dividing the whole administration among themselves. In so delicate a conjuncture, he did

did not think it adviseable to come to an open rupture, lest he should inflame the minds of the people, by employing chastisements at an unseasonable time. For this reason he stifled his resentments, pretending to be very well satisfied; and having exhorted his forces to union and peace, he went back to Lechæum. But after this insurrection, it was not so easy for him to execute in Phocis the schemes he had projected.

Leontius having now lost all hopes, after so many fruitless attempts, had recourse to Apelles. He sent courier upon courier, to give him notice of the danger he was in, and to urge his presence immediately. That minister, during his stay in Chalcis, disposed all things in the most despotic manner, and by that means was universally odious. According to him, the king being still young, had no manner of power, but obeyed implicitly the dictates of his (Apelles's) will. It is certain that he arrogated to himself the management of all affairs, as having full power to act in every thing as he should think fit. The magistrates of Macedonia and Thessaly, and the officers who enjoyed any employment, had recourse to him only. In all the cities of Greece scarce the least mention was made of the king: for whether any resolutions were to be taken, affairs to be regulated, judgments passed, or honours or preferments to be bestowed, Apelles engrossed and transacted all things.

Philip had long before been apprized of this conduct of Apelles, which gave him very great uneasiness. Aratus was frequently urgent with him to exert himself on this occasion, and endeavoured to make him throw off his irresolution and servitude: but the king concealed his thoughts, and did not discover his resolutions to any body. Apelles, not knowing how the king was disposed in regard to him; but persuaded, on the contrary, that the instant he appeared before his sovereign, he would not fail of taking his opinion in all things, flew from Chalcis to the support of Leontius.

When he arrived in Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy and Megaleas, who commanded the flower of the troops, engaged all the young men to go and meet him. Apelles, thus received with pomp and splendor, and attended by a large body of officers and soldiers, advances directly to the king's palace, which he was going to enter as usual. However, the officer who attended at the gate, (having been instructed before) stopt him short, and told him that his majesty was busy. Astonished at so uncommon a reception which he no ways expected, he considered for some time how he ought to behave; and at last withdrew in the utmost confusion. * Nothing is so transient and frail as a borrowed power, not supported by foundations or strength of its own. The shining train he had caused to follow him, vanished in an instant; and he arrived at his own house followed only by his domestics. A lively image, says Polybius, of what happens in the courts of kings; a fate which the most powerful courtiers ought to dread. A few days suffice to shew their most exalted state and fall. Like counters, which one moment are of the highest, and the next of the most inconsiderable value: as princes please to extend or withdraw their favours, to day they enjoy the greatest credit, and the next are reduced to the extremes of misery, and universal disgrace. Megaleas, sensible of the storm he himself might expect now the prime minister was disgraced, thought of nothing but how he might best secure himself by flight, and accordingly withdrew to Thebes, leaving Leontius bound for twenty talents, which he had engaged to see his accomplices pay.

The king, whether he was unwilling to drive Apelles to despair; whether he did not think his power strong enough to exert it in an extraordinary manner, or from some remains of esteem and gratitude for a guardian and governor; still allowed him the honour

* Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentiae non sua vi nixæ. *Tacit. Annal.* l. 13. c. 19.

of his conversation sometimes, and left him some other honours of that kind ; but he excluded him from the council, and from the number of those he used to invite to supper with him. Going to Sicyon, the magistrates offered him a house ; but he preferred that of Aratus, whom he never quitted, and spent whole days in his company. As for Apelles, he ordered him to retire to Corinth.

Having removed Leontius from his command of the guards, which were ordered to march elsewhere, upon pretence of their being employed upon some extraordinary occasion, he caused him to be thrown into prison ; the pretended reason of which was, to oblige him to pay the twenty talents for which he had engaged for Megaleas ; but in reality to secure his person, and to sound the disposition of the troops. Leonatus sent word of this to the infantry over which he had commanded, who that moment sent a petition to the king, importing, that if Leontius were charged with some new crime for which he deserved to be imprisoned, they insisted that nothing might be decreed against him but in their presence : that if he refused them that favour, they should look upon this refusal as a contempt and the highest injury, (such was the liberty the Macedonians had the privilege of using with their king ;) but that in case Leontius was imprisoned but for the twenty talents, they offered to pay that sum among them. This testimony of their affection did but inflame the king's anger, and hasten the death of Leontius.

During this interval, there arrived from Ætolia ambassadors from Rhodes and Chio, after having prevailed with the Ætolians to consent to a thirty days truce. These assured the king, that the Ætolians were inclined to peace. Philip accepted of the truce, and wrote to the allies, desiring them to send their plenipotentiaries to Patræ, to negotiate a peace with the Ætolians. He himself set out immediately from Lechæum,

chæum, in order to assist at it, and arrived there after two days sail.

He then received letters, directed by Megaleas, from Phocis to the Ætolians, in which that traitor exhorted the Ætolians not to entertain the least fears, but to continue the war; that Philip was in the utmost distress for want of ammunition and provisions, to which he added expressions highly injurious to the king. Philip, upon reading these letters, judging Apelles the chief author of them, seized both him and his son; at the same time he sent to Thebes, with orders for Megaleas to be proceeded against there; however he did not stay for his trial, but laid violent hands on himself. A little after, Apelles and his son were also put to death.

I do not know whether history can furnish us with a more remarkable example of the ascendant which a favourite may gain over the mind of a young sovereign, in order to satiate with impunity his avarice and ambition. Apelles had been Philip's guardian, and in that quality was intrusted with the care of his education. He had been at the head of the regency established by the late king. This double title of guardian and governor, had on one side inspired the young prince (as it naturally should) with sentiments of regard, esteem, respect and confidence for Apelles; and, on the other, had made Apelles assume an air of authority and command over his pupil, which he never laid aside. Philip did not want wit, judgment or penetration. When he was arrived to more mature years, he perceived the hands he was fallen into, but at the same time was blind to all his master's faults. He had discovered, more than once, the mean jealousy which Apelles entertained of conspicuous merit of every kind; and his declared hatred of all such of the king's subjects as were most capable of serving him. Proofs of his taxations and oppressions were daily renewed, and the repeated complaints of them rendered the government odious and insupportable. However, all this

made no impression, or but a very slight one, on the mind of the young king, over which the prime minister had gained such an influence, that he even stood in fear of him. The reader has seen how extremely difficult it was for the king to break this charm.

(z) In the mean time, the Ætolians wished earnestly that the peace might be concluded; and were quite weary of a war, in which all their expectations had been frustrated. They had flattered themselves, that they had to do with a young unexperienced king, and accordingly believed that they might amuse him as a child; but Philip, on the contrary, had proved to them, that in wisdom and resolution he was a man; and that they had behaved like children in all their enterprizes. But having heard of the insurrection of the troops, and the conspiracy of Apelles and Leontius, they postponed the day on which they were to meet at Patræ, in hopes that some sedition would break out at court, to perplex and embroil the king's affairs. Philip, who wished for nothing more ardently, than to break off the conferences upon the peace, joyfully seized the opportunity with which the enemies themselves furnished him; and engaged the allies, who were come to the rendezvous, to continue the war. He afterwards set sail on his return to Corinth. He gave the Macedonians leave to go by the way of Thessaly, in order that they might quarter, during the winter, in their own country: then coasting Attica along the Euripus, he went from Cenchreæ to * Demetrias, where he found Ptolemy, the only conspirator that survived; and caused sentence of death to be passed upon him, in an assembly of Macedonians.

All these incidents happened, at the time that Hannibal was encamped on the banks of the river Po in Italy; and Antiochus, after having subdued the greatest part of Cœlosyria, had sent his troops into winter-quarters. It was also then that Lycurgus, king of La-

(z) Polyb. l. 5. p. 376, 377.

* A city of maritime Thessaly.

cedæmonia, fled from Ætolia, in order to secure himself from the anger of the Ephori, who, on a false report that this king designed to embroil the state, had assembled in the night, and invested his house, in order to seize his person. But Lycurgus, having some notion of this, fled with his whole family. However, he was recalled a little after, as soon as it was known that the suspicions raised against him were all groundless. It being now winter, Philip returned to Macedonia.

Eperatus was by this time universally despised by the Achæans, no body obeyed his orders; and the country being open and defenceless, dreadful havock was made in it. The cities being abandoned, and receiving no succours, were reduced to the last extremity, and consequently could scarce furnish their quota. The auxiliary troops, the payment of whose arrears was put off from day to day, served as they were paid, and great numbers of them deserted. All this was owing to the incapacity of the general; and the reader has seen in what manner he was elected. Happily for the Achæans, the time of his command was almost expired. He quitted it in the beginning of the spring, and the elder Aratus was appointed to succeed him.

(a) Philip, to his journey to Macedonia, had taken Bylazora, the greatest city in Peonia, and the most advantageously situated for making incursions from Dardania into Macedonia; so that having possessed himself of it, he had very little to fear from the Dardanians.

(b) After taking that city, he again marched towards Greece. He judged it would be proper to lay siege to Thebes of Phthiotis, from whence the Ætolians used to make continual inroads, and at the same time commit great waste in the territories of Demetrius, Pharsalia, and even Larissa. The attack was carried on with great bravery, and the defence was equally vigorous; but at last, the besieged, fearing they

(a) Polyb. l. 5. p. 435.

(b) A. M. 3787. Ant. J. C. 217.

should be taken by storm, surrendered the city. By this conquest, Philip secured Magnesia and Thessaly, and carried off a great booty from the Ætolians.

Here ambassadors came again to him from Chio, Rhodes, and Byzantium, and also from Ptolemy, to propose the concluding of a peace. Philip made the same answer as before, that it was what he very much desired; and that they had only to enquire of the Ætolians, whether they also were inclined to it. Philip, in reality, was not very desirous of peace, but he did not care to declare himself.

He afterwards set out, with his favourites, for the Nemæan games at Argos. Whilst he was viewing one of the combats, a courier arrived from Macedonia, with advice that the Romans had lost a great battle in Tuscany, near the lake Thrasymene, and that Hannibal was master of the open country. The king showed this letter to none but Demetrius of Pharos, giving him a strict charge not to speak of it. The latter took this opportunity to represent to him, that he ought to disengage himself as soon as possible from the Ætolian war, in order to invade Illyria, and afterwards cross into Italy. He added, that Greece, already subjected in all respects, would obey him no less afterwards; that the Achæans had joined voluntarily, and with the utmost cheerfulness, in his cause: that the Ætolians, quite depressed and discouraged by their ill success in the present war, would not fail to follow their example. That if he was desirous of the sovereignty of the world, a noble ambition, which suited no prince better than himself, he must begin by conquering Italy: that after the defeat of the Romans, the news of which he had then received, the time was come for executing so noble a project, and that he ought not to delay a moment. Such counsel could not but charm a king in the flower of his youth, successful in his exploits, bold, enterprising; and who besides was sprung from a family which had always flattered itself with the hopes of universal empire.

Never-

Nevertheless, as he was master of his temper, and governed his thoughts in such a manner, as to discover only such of them as promoted his interest, (a very rare and valuable quality in so young a prince) he did not express too great an inclination for peace, though he now earnestly desired it. He therefore only caused the allied states to be told to send their plenipotentiaries to Naupactum, in order to negotiate a peace: and at the earnest instances of the Ætolians, soon arrived in the neighbourhood of that city at the head of his troops. All parties were so weary of the war, that there was no occasion for long conferences. The first article which the king caused to be proposed to the Ætolians, by the ambassadors of the confederate powers, was, that every one should continue in possession of his conquests. The rest of the articles were soon agreed upon; so that the treaty was ratified, and all retired to their respective countries. This peace concluded by Philip and the Achæans with the Ætolians; the battle lost by the Romans near the lake Thrasymene; and the defeat of Antiochus near Raphia; all these events happened in the (c) third year of the 140th Olympiad.

In the first separate conference held in presence of the king and the ambassadors of the confederate powers; Agelas of Naupactum, who was one of them, enforced his opinion by arguments that deserve a place here, and which Polybius thought worthy of relating at length in his history. He says it were to be wished, that the Greeks would never make war upon one another; that it would be a great blessing from the gods, if breathing only the same sentiments, they should all in a manner join hand, and unite their whole force, to secure themselves from the insults of the Barbarians. But if this was not possible, that at least, in the present juncture, they ought to unite together, and consult for the preservation of all Greece. That, to be sensible of the necessity of such an union, they need

but turn their eyes to the formidable armies of the two powerful states actually engaged in war. That it was evident to every one who was ever so little versed in maxims of policy, that the conquerors, whether Carthaginians or Romans, would not confine themselves to the empire of Italy and Sicily ; but would doubtless extend their projects much farther. That all the Greeks in general, and especially Philip, ought to keep a strict eye on the dangers with which they were threatened. That this prince would have nothing to fear, if, instead of his attempting to ruin the Greeks, and to give the enemy an easier opportunity of defeating them, as he had hitherto done, he should labour as much for their welfare as his own, and exert himself as vigorously in the defence of all Greece, as if it was his own kingdom. That by this means he would acquire the love and affection of the Greeks, who would be inviolably attached to him in all his enterprizes ; and, by their fidelity to him, disconcert all the projects which foreigners might form against his kingdom. That if, instead of barely acting defensively, he were desirous of taking the field, and executing some great enterprize ; he need but turn his arms towards the west ; and keep an eye on the events of the war in Italy. That, provided he would only put himself into a condition for seizing successfully the first opportunity that should present itself ; all things would smooth the way for the universal empire. That, in case he had any difference with the Greeks, he should leave the decision of it to another season. That, he ought especially to be careful, to preserve to himself the liberty of making war or peace with them, whenever he might think proper. That, in case he should suffer the storm which was gathering in the west to burst upon Greece ; it was very much to be feared, that it would then be no longer in their power to take up arms, to treat of peace, nor to determine in their affairs according to their own sense, or the manner they might judge most expedient.

Nothing

Nothing can be more judicious than this speech, which is a clear prediction of what was to happen afterwards to Greece, of which the Romans will soon render themselves absolute masters. This is the first time that the affairs of Italy and Africa influence those of Greece, and direct their motions. After this, neither Philip, nor the other powers of Greece, regulated their conduct, when they were to make peace or war, from the state of their respective countries, but directed all their views and attention towards Italy. The Asiatics and the inhabitants of the islands did the same soon after. All those who, from that time, had reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Philip or Attalus, no longer addressed Antiochus or Ptolemy for protection; they no longer turned their eyes to the south or east, but fixed them upon the west. Sometimes ambassadors were sent to the Carthaginians, and at other times to the Romans. Some also came to Philip, at different intervals, from the Romans, who, knowing the enterprizing genius of that prince, were afraid he should come and add to the confusion and perplexity of their affairs: which is what the sequel of this history is upon the point of shewing us.

SECT. IV. *Philip concludes a treaty with Hannibal. The Romans gain a considerable victory over him in Apollonia. He changes his conduct. His breach of faith and irregularities. He causes Aratus to be poisoned. The Ætolians conclude an alliance with the Romans. Attalus king of Pergamus, and the Lacedæmonians accede to it. Machanidas usurps a tyrannical power at Sparta. Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius the Roman Prætor, in one of which Philopæmen signalizes himself.*

(d) THE war between the Carthaginians and the Romans, who were the two greatest powers at that time, drew the attention of all the kings and nations in the world. Philip king of Macedon ima-

(d) Liv. l. 23. n. 33, 34, & 38.

gined that this affected him the more, as his dominions were separated from Italy only by the Adriatic sea, now called the gulph of Venice. When he heard, by the rumours which were spread, that Hannibal had marched over the Alps, he was indeed very well pleased to see the Romans and Carthaginians at war; but, the success of it being doubtful, he did not perceive clearly enough, which of those powers it would be his interest to join. (e) But after Hannibal had gained three victories successively, all his doubts were removed. He sent ambassadors to that general, but unhappily they fell into the hands of the Romans. They were carried to Valerius Levinus the prætor, who was then encamped near Luceria. The principal of the ambassadors, Xenophanes by name, without being in the least disconcerted, answered with a resolute tone of voice; that he had been dispatched by Philip to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans; and that he had orders to execute with the consuls, as well as the senate and people of Rome. Levinus, overjoyed to find, in this revolt of their antient allies, so powerful a monarch desirous of making an alliance with the Romans, treated the ambassadors with all possible respect, and gave them a convoy for their safety. Being arrived in Campania, they escaped, and fled to Hannibal's camp, where they concluded a treaty, the purport of which was as follows:

“ That king Philip should cross into Italy with a fleet
 “ of two hundred sail, and lay waste the sea coasts;
 “ and should assist the Carthaginians both by sea and
 “ land. That the latter, at the conclusion of the
 “ war, should possess all Italy and Rome; and that
 “ Hannibal should have all the spoils. That after the
 “ conquest of Italy, they should cross into Greece,
 “ and there make war against any power the king
 “ should nominate; and that both the cities of the
 “ continent and the islands lying towards Macedonia,
 “ should be enjoyed by Philip, and annexed to his

(e) A. M. 3788, Ant. J. C. 216.

“ dominion.”

“dominion.” Hannibal, on the other side, sent ambassadors to Philip, for his ratification of it; and they set out with those of Macedonia. I observed elsewhere, that in this treaty, the whole of which is preserved by (f) Polybius, express mention is made of a great number of deities of the two nations, as present at this treaty; and witnesses to the oaths with which the ceremony was attended. Polybius omits a great number of particulars, which, according to Livy, were stipulated by this treaty.

The ambassadors, who set out together, were unhappily discovered and intercepted by the Romans. Xenophanes's lie would not do him the same service as before. The Carthaginians were known by their air, their dress, and still more by their language. Upon them were found letters from Hannibal to Philip, and a copy of the treaty. The ambassadors were carried to Rome. The condition in which the affairs of the Romans (attacked so vigorously by Hannibal) then were; and their discovering a new enemy, so very powerful as Philip, must necessarily alarm them prodigiously. But it is on such occasions that the Roman grandeur was chiefly conspicuous. For without expressing the least perplexity or discouragement, they took all the measures necessary for carrying on this new war. Philip, informed of what had befallen his ambassadors, sent a second embassy to Hannibal, which was more successful than the former, and brought back the treaty. But these disappointments prevented their forming any enterprize that year, and still kept matters in suspense.

(g) Philip was now wholly employed on his great design, of carrying the war into Italy. Demetrius of Pharos being with him, was continually urging him to that enterprize; not so much out of zeal for the interest of that prince, as out of hatred to the Romans, who had dispossessed him of his territories,

(f) Polyb. l. 7. p. 502—507.
445—447.

(g) Polyb. l. 5. p. 439 &

which he thought it would be impossible for him to recover by any other means. It was by his counsel that he had concluded a peace with most of his enemies, in order that he might devote his whole care and attention to this war, the thoughts of which haunted him day and night ; so that even in his dreams he spoke of nothing but of war and battles with the Romans ; and he would start from his sleep, in the highest agitation of mind, and covered with sweat. This prince, who was still young, was naturally lively and ardent in all his enterprizes. The success of his arms, the hopes Demetrius gave him, and the remembrance of the great actions of his predecessors, kindled an ardour in him, which increased daily.

(b) During the winter season, he thought of manning a fleet ; not with the view of venturing a battle with the Romans, for this he was not in a condition to do ; but to transport his forces into Italy with the greater expedition ; and by that means surprize the enemies when they should least expect it. Accordingly he made the Illyrians build an hundred, or an hundred and twenty vessels for him ; and after having exercised his Macedonians for some time in the naval discipline, he put to sea. He first seized upon the city of Oricum, situate on the western coast of Epirus. Valerius, commander of the fleet that lay before Brundisium, having advice of it, set sail immediately with all the ships in readiness for sailing ; retook, the next day, Oricum, in which Philip had but a slender garrison, and sent a large reinforcement to the aid of Apollonia to which Philip had laid siege. Nevius, an able and experienced officer, who commanded this reinforcement, having landed his troops at the mouth of the river Aous, upon which Apollonia stands, marched through a by-way ; and entered the city in the night unperceived by the enemy. The Macedonians imagining they were very secure, because the sea lay between them and the enemy, had neglected all the

(b) Liv. l. 24. n. 49.

precautions which the rules of war prescribe, and the exactness of military discipline requires. Nevius, being informed of this, marched silently out of the city in the night, and arrived in the camp, where he found all the soldiers asleep. And now the cries of those who were first attacked awaking the rest, they all endeavoured to save themselves by flight. The king himself, who was but half awake and almost naked, found it very difficult for him to escape to his ships. The soldiers crowded after him, and three thousand of them were either killed or taken prisoners. Valerius, who staid at Oricum, the instant he heard this news, had sent his fleet towards the mouth of the river, to shut up Philip. This prince, finding it impossible for him to advance forward; after setting fire to his ships, returned by land to Macedonia; carrying with him the sorrowful remains of his troops, who seemed more like prisoners disarmed and plundered, than the body of an army.

(i) For some time Philip, who till then had been admired for many of those qualities which form the great prince, had begun to change his conduct and character; and this change was ascribed to the evil counsels of those about him, who, to please him, were perpetually lavishing their encomiums on him, fomenting all his passions, and suggesting to him, that the grandeur of a king consisted in reigning with unlimited power, and in making his subjects pay a blind implicit obedience to his will. Instead of the gentleness, moderation and wisdom he till then had displayed, he treated cities and states not only with pride and haughtiness, but with cruelty and injustice; and having no longer as formerly his glory in view, he abandoned himself entirely to riot and excesses of every kind: the too common effect of flattery, whose subtle poison generally corrupts the best princes, and sooner or later destroys the great hopes which had been entertained of them.

(i) Plut. in Arat. p. 1049—1052. Polyb. l. 8. p. 518,—519.

One would have imagined that the defeat before Apollonia, in covering him with shame, would have abated his pride, and softened his temper. But this only sowered it; and one would have concluded, that this prince was resolved to revenge on his subjects and allies, the affront he had received from his enemies.

Being arrived in Peloponnesus, a little after his defeat, he employed all the stratagems possible to overreach and surprize the Messenians. But his artifices being discovered, he pulled off the mask, and laid waste the whole country. Aratus, who was a man of the greatest honour and probity, was exceedingly shocked at so flagrant an injustice, and made loud complaints against it. He had before begun to retire insensibly from court; but now he thought it high time to break entirely with a prince, who no longer valued his people, and led the most dissolute life: For he was not ignorant of his impure commerce with his daughter-in-law, (a subject of the greatest grief to him) and which, however, he had not once hinted to his son; from the consideration, that it would not be of service to him to inform him of his ignominy, as it was not in his power to revenge it.

As it was impossible but this rupture must make some noise, Philip, whom the greatest crimes now cost nothing, resolved to rid himself of a troublesome censor, whose very absence reproached all his irregularities. Aratus's great reputation, and the respect paid to his virtue, would not suffer Philip to employ open force and violence; and therefore he charged Taurion, one of his confidants, to dispatch him secretly during his absence. His horrid command was obeyed; for Taurion having insinuated himself into Aratus's familiarity and friendship, invited him several times to dinner, and at one of them poisoned him; not with a violent and immediate poison, but with one of those which lights up a slow fire in the body, contumes it by insensible degrees, and is the more dangerous, as it gives less notice.

Aratus

Aratus knew very well the cause of his illness : but as complaints would not be of any service to him, he bore it patiently without once murmuring, as a common and natural disease. One day only, happening to spit blood before a friend who was in the room with him, and seeing that his friend was surprized, he said, *Behold, my dear Cephalon, the fruits of royal friendship.* He died in this manner at Ægium, being then captain-general for the seventeenth time.

The Achæans would have him buried in the place where he died, and were preparing such a magnificent mausolæum to his memory as might be worthy his great services. But the Sicyonians obtained that honour for their city, where Aratus was born ; and changing their mourning to festivity, crowned with chaplets of flowers and cloathed in white robes, they went and fetched the corps from Ægium, and carried it in pomp to Sicyon, dancing before it, and singing hymns and odes in honour of the deceased. They made choice of the highest part of the city, where they buried him as the founder and preserver of it, which place was afterwards called *Aratium*. In Plutarch's time, that is, about three hundred years after, two solemn sacrifices were offered him annually ; the first, on the day that he freed the city from the yoke of tyranny, which sacrifice was called *Soteria* ; and the other on his birth-day. During the sacrifice, choirs of music sung odes to the lyre ; and the chief chorister, at the head of the young men and children, walked in procession round the altar. The senate, crowned with chaplets of flowers, and a great part of the inhabitants followed this procession.

It must be owned that Aratus was one of the greatest men of his time, and may be considered, in some measure, as one of the founders of the commonwealth of Achaia : It was he at least who brought it to the form and splendor it preserved so long afterwards, and by which it became one of the most powerful states of Greece. However, he committed a considerable

considerable error, in calling in to the assistance of that commonwealth the kings of Macedonia, who made themselves masters and tyrants of it; and this, as we have before observed, was an effect of his jealousy of the great Cleomenes king of Sparta.

But he was fully punished for it, by the manner in which Philip treated him. Aratus his son met with a still more deplorable fate: for that prince being become compleatly wicked, says Plutarch, and who affected to add outrage to cruelty, got rid of him, not by mortal poisons, but by those which destroy reason, and craze the brain; and by that means made him commit such abominable actions, as would have reflected eternal infamy on him, had they been done voluntarily, and when he was in his senses: Inso-much that, though he was at that time very young and in the bloom of life, his death was considered, not as a misfortune with regard to himself, but as the remedy and period of his miseries.

(k) About this time Philip engaged in a successful expedition against the Illyrians. He had long desired to possess himself of Lissus; but believed it would be impossible for him ever to take the castle, which was so happily situated and so strongly fortified, that it was thought impregnable. Finding that force would not prevail, he had recourse to stratagem. The city was separated from the castle by a little valley; in that he observed a spot covered with trees; and very fit to conceal an ambuscade. Here he posted the flower of his troops. The next day he assaulted another part of the city. The inhabitants, who were very numerous, defended themselves with great bravery; and for some time, the success was equal on both sides. At last they made a furious sally, and charged the besiegers with great vigour. The garrison of the castle, seeing Philip retire fighting, imagined they should infallibly defeat him; and being desirous of sharing in the plunder, most of them came out, and joined the inhabi-

(k) Polyb. l. 8. p. 519—521.

tants. In the mean time, the soldiers who lay in ambuscade attacked the castle, and carried it without great resistance. And now, the signal agreed upon being made, the fugitives faced about, and pursued the inhabitants as far as the city, which surrendered a few days after.

(1) M. Valerius Levinus, as Prætor, had been allotted Greece and Macedonia for his province. He was very sensible that, in order to lessen the forces of Philip, it would be absolutely necessary to bring over some of his allies (of whom the Ætolians were the most powerful) from his interest. He therefore began by founding, in private conferences, the disposition of the chiefs of the latter people; and, after having assured himself of them, he went to the general assembly. There, after expatiating on the flourishing state of the Romans, and proved it by their taking of Syracuse in Sicily, and Capua in Italy; he extolled the great generosity with which the Romans behaved towards their allies, and their constant fidelity. He added, that the Ætolians might expect to meet with so much the better treatment from the Romans, as they would be the first people in that part of the world who should have concluded an alliance with them. That Philip and the Macedonians were dangerous neighbours, whose power would, in all probability, be of the most fatal consequence to them. That the Romans had already humbled their pride; and would oblige them, not only to give up such fortresses as they had taken from the Ætolians, but even give them cause to fear for their own countries. That with regard to the Acarnanians, who had broke with the Ætolians, the Romans would force them to return to their alliance, on the same conditions which had been prescribed to them when they were admitted into it; or, in case of their refusal, would make them submit to the Ætolians by force of arms.

(1) A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211. Liv. l. 26. n. 24—26.

Scopas, who was at that time chief magistrate of the Ætolian state; and Dorimachus, who, of all the citizens, had the greatest credit and authority, strongly enforced the arguments and promises of the Prætor, and said many more advantageous things of the grandeur and power of the Romans, because they were not obliged to speak as modestly on those topics as Valerius Levinus; and the people would be more inclined to believe them than a foreigner, who spoke for the interests of his country. The circumstance which affected them most was, the hopes of their possessing themselves of Acarnania. Accordingly the treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Ætolians. The people of Elis, of Lacedæmonia; Attalus king of Pergamus, Pleuratus king of Thrace, and Scerdiledes of Illyria, were left at liberty to accede to this treaty, on the same conditions, if they thought proper. The conditions were, “ That the Ætolians should declare “ war as soon as possible against Philip: That the “ Romans should furnish them, at least, twenty-five “ gallies, *quinqueremes*, or of five benches of oars. “ That such cities as should be taken from Ætolia “ as far as the island of * Corcyra, should be possessed “ by the Ætolians, and all the spoils and captives by “ the Romans. That the Romans should aid the “ Ætolians in making themselves masters of Acarna- “ nia: That the Ætolians should not be allowed to “ conclude a peace with Philip, but upon condition “ that he should be obliged to withdraw his troops out “ of the territories of the Romans and those of their “ allies; nor the Romans with Philip, but on the “ same terms.” Immediately hostilities commenced. Philip was dispossessed of some cities, after which Levinus retired to Corcyra; fully persuaded that the king had so much business, and so many enemies upon his hands, that he would have no time to think of Italy or Hannibal.

* *Corfu*.

Philip was now in winter-quarters at Pella, when advice was brought him of the new treaty of the Ætolians. To be the sooner able to march out against them, he endeavoured to settle the affairs of Macedonia, and to secure it from any invasions of its neighbours. Scopas, on the other side, makes preparations for carrying on the war against the Acarnanians, who, though they saw it would be absolutely impossible for them, to oppose, at one and the same time, two such powerful states as the Ætolians and Romans; they took up arms out of despair, rather than from prudential motives, and resolved to sell their lives as dear as possible. Accordingly, having sent into Epirus, which lay very near them, their wives, children, and the old men who were upwards of sixty; all those who remained, from the age of fifteen to threescore, engaged themselves by oath never to return except victorious; uttered the most dreadful imprecations against such among them as should break their oaths; and only desired the Epirots, to bury in the same grave all who should fall in the battle, with the following inscription over them. **HERE LIE THE ACARNANIANS, WHO DIED FIGHTING FOR THEIR COUNTRY, AGAINST THE VIOLENCE AND INJUSTICE OF THE ÆTOLIANS.** Full of courage they set out directly, and advanced to meet the enemy to the very frontiers of their country. Their great resolution and bravery terrified the Ætolians, who also received advice that Philip was already upon his march, to the aid of his allies. Upon this, they returned home, and Philip did the same.

In the very beginning of the spring, Levinus besieged Anticyra*, which surrendered a little after. He gave this city to the Ætolians, keeping only the plunder for himself. Here news was brought him, that he had been nominated consul in his absence, and that P. Sulpitius was coming to succeed him as prætor.

* *A city of Acbaia in Phocis.*

(*m*) In the treaty concluded between the Romans and Ætolians, several other powers had been invited to accede to it; and we find that Attalus, Pleuratus, and Scerdiledes, accepted of the invitation. The Ætolians exhorted the Spartans to imitate those princes. Chleneas, their representative or deputy, put the Lacedæmonians in mind of all the evils which the Macedonians had brought upon them; the design they had always harboured, and still entertained, of enslaving all Greece; particularly the sacrilegious impiety of Philip, in plundering a temple in the city of Thermæ; and his horrid treachery and cruelty to the Messenians. He added, that they had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Achæans, who, after all the losses they had sustained in the last campaign, would think it a great happiness to be able to defend their own country; that with respect to Philip, when he should find the Ætolians invade him by land; and the Romans and Attalus by sea, he would not think of carrying his arms into Greece. He concluded, with desiring the Lacedæmonians to persist in their alliance with Ætolia, or at least to stand neuter.

Lyciscus, the representative of the Acarnanians, spoke next, and declared immediately in favour of the Macedonians. He expatiated on the services which Philip, and afterwards Alexander the Great, had done Greece, by invading and ruining the Persians, its most antient and most cruel enemies. He put the Lacedæmonians in mind, of the gentleness and clemency with which Antigonus had treated them, when he took Sparta. He insisted, that it would be ignominious, as well as dangerous, to suffer Barbarians, for so he called the Romans, to enter Greece. He said, that it was worthy of the Spartan wisdom, to foresee from far the storm already gathering in the West; and which would certainly break, first upon Macedonia, and afterwards all Greece, whom it would involve in ruin. "From what motive did your ances-

(*m*) Polyb. l. 9. p. 361—571.

“tors,” continued he, “throw into a well, the man who came, in Xerxes’s name, to invite them to submit themselves to, and join with that monarch? Wherefore did Leonidas your king, with his three hundred Spartans, brave and defy death? Was it not merely to defend the common liberties of Greece? And now, you are advised to give them up to other Barbarians, who, the more moderate they appear, are so much the more dangerous. As to the Ætolians,” says he, “(if it be possible for them to stoop so low) they may dishonour themselves by so shameful a prevarication: this, indeed, would be natural for them to do, as they are utter strangers to glory, and affected with nothing but sordid views of interest. But as to you, O Spartans, who are born defenders of the liberty and honour of Greece, you will sustain that glorious title to the end.”

The fragment of Polybius, where these two speeches are repeated, goes no farther; and does not inform us what was the result of them. However, the sequel of the history shows, that Sparta joined with the Ætolians, and entered into the general treaty. It was at that time divided into two factions, whose intrigues and disputes, being carried to the utmost height, occasioned great disturbances in the city. One faction was warm for Philip, and the other declared openly against him, which latter prevailed. We find it was headed by Machanidas, who taking advantage of the feuds which infested the commonwealth, seized upon the government, and made himself tyrant of his country.

(n) P. Sulpitius and king Attalus being arrived with their fleet to succour the Ætolians, the latter were flushed with the most sanguine hopes, and the opposite party filled with terror; especially as Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, was already invading the territories of the Achæans, whose near neighbour he was.

(n) A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 203. Liv. l. 27. n. 29—33. Polyb. l. 10. p. 612.

Immediately the latter people and their allies sent a deputation to king Philip, and solicited him to come into Greece, to defend and support them. Philip lost no time. The Ætolians, under Pyrrhias, who that year had been appointed their general in conjunction with king Attalus, advanced to meet him as far as Lamia. * Pyrrhias had been joined by the troops which Attalus and Sulpitius had sent him. Philip defeated him twice; and the Ætolians were forced to shut themselves up in Lamia. As to Philip, he retired to † Phalara with his army.

During his stay there, ambassadors came from Ptolemy king of Egypt; from the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the inhabitants of Chio, all with instructions to use their utmost endeavours for re-establishing a lasting peace between Philip and the Ætolians. It was not so much out of good-will for the latter, as from the uneasiness they were under in seeing Philip engage so strenuously in the affairs of Greece, which might render him more powerful than suited their interests. For his conquests over the Ætolians and their confederates, paved the way for his subjecting all Greece, to which his predecessors had always aspired, and even gave him access to those cities (out of Egypt) which Ptolemy possessed. Philip, however, suspended the debates on the peace, till the next assembly of the Achæans; and, in the mean time granted the Ætolians a truce for thirty days. Being come into the assembly, the Ætolians made such very unreasonable proposals, as took away all hopes of an accommodation. Philip, offended that the vanquished should take upon them to prescribe laws to him, declared, that at his coming into the assembly, he had not depended in any manner on the justice and sincerity of the Ætolians; but that he was very glad to convince his allies, he himself was sincerely desirous of peace; and that the Ætolians were the only people who opposed it. He set out from thence, after having left four thousand

* A city of Thessaly in Phthiotis.

† A city of Thessaly.

troops to defend the Achæans, and went to Argos, where the Nemæan games were going to be exhibited, the splendor of which he was desirous of augmenting by his presence.

While he was busied in solemnizing these games, Sulpitius having set out from Naupactum, and landed between Sicyon and Corinth, laid waste all the open country. Philip upon this news left the games, marched with speed against the enemy; and meeting them laden with spoils, put them to flight, and pursued them to their ships. Being returned to the games, he was received with universal applause; and particularly, because he had laid down his diadem and robes of state, and mixed indiscriminately with the rest of the spectators; a very pleasing as well as soothing sight to the inhabitants of free cities. But as his unaffected and popular behaviour had gained him the love of all, so his enormous excesses soon made him odious. It was now his custom to go at night into people's houses in a Plebeian dress, and there practise every kind of licentiousness. It was not safe for fathers and husbands to oppose him on these occasions, for fear of being murdered.

Some days after the solemnization of the games, Philip, with the Achæans, whose captain-general was Cycliadus, having crossed the river of Larissa, advances as far as the city of Elis, which had received an Ætolian garrison. The first day, he laid waste the neighbouring lands; afterwards he drew near the city in battle-array, and caused some bodies of horse to advance to the gates, to force the Ætolians to make a sally. Accordingly they came out; but Philip was greatly surprized to find some Roman soldiers among them. Sulpitius having left Naupactum with fifteen gallies, and landed four thousand men, had entered the city of Elis in the night. (o) The fight was very bloody. Damophantes, general of the cavalry of Elis, seeing Philopœmen who commanded that of

(o) Plut. in Philop. p. 360.

the Achæans, advanced out of the ranks, and spurred towards him with great impetuosity. The latter waited for him with the utmost resolution ; and, preventing his blow, laid him dead, with a thrust of his pike, at his horse's feet. Demophantes being thus fallen, his cavalry fled. I mentioned Philopœmen before, and shall have occasion to speak more particularly of him hereafter. On the other side, the infantry of Elis had fought with advantage. And now the king perceiving that his troops began to give way, spurred his horse into the midst of the Roman foot. His horse being wounded with a javelin, threw him. It was then the battle grew furious, both sides making extraordinary efforts ; the Romans to take Philip prisoner, and the Macedonians to save him. The king signalized his courage on this occasion, having been obliged to fight a long time on foot, in the midst of the cavalry, and a great slaughter was made in this engagement. At last, being carried off by his soldiers, and remounted on another horse, he retired. The king incamped about five miles from that place ; and the next day, having attacked a castle, in which a great number of peasants, with all their flocks, were retired ; he took four thousand prisoners, and twenty thousand head of cattle of all sorts : an advantage, which might console him for the affront he had lately received at Elis.

That instant, advice was brought him that the Barbarians had made an incursion into Macedonia ; upon which he immediately set out, to defend his country, having left with the allies a detachment from his army of two thousand five hundred men. Sulpitius retired with his fleet to Ægina, where he joined king Attalus, and passed the winter. Some time after the Achæans gave the Ætolians and the people of Elis battle near Messene, in which they had the advantage,

SECT. V. *Education and great qualities of Philopœmen.*

(p) **P**hilopœmen, of whom large mention will be made hereafter, was of Megalopolis, a city of Arcadia in Peloponnesus. He was nobly educated by Cassander of Mantinea, who, after his father's death, out of gratitude for the important services he had received from him, undertook to be guardian and governor to his son Philopœmen.

Being come to years of discretion, he was put under the care of Ecdemus and Demophanes, citizens of Megalopolis, who had been scholars to Arcefilaus, founder of the new academy. The scope of philosophy in those days was, to prompt mankind to serve their country; and, by its precepts, to enable them to govern republics, and transact the greatest affairs of state. This was the inestimable advantage the two philosophers in question procured Philopœmen, and rendered him the common blessing of Greece. And indeed, as it is said that mothers love those children best which they bring forth when advanced in years; Greece, as having given birth to Philopœmen in old age, and after so many illustrious personages, had a singular affection for, and took a pleasure in enlarging his power, in proportion as his fame increased. He was called *the last of the Greeks*, as Brutus was afterwards called *the last of the Romans*: undoubtedly to imply, that Greece, after Philopœmen, had produced no great man worthy of her antient glory.

Having formed himself upon the model of Epaminondas, he copied admirably his prudence in debating and resolving upon affairs; his activity and boldness in executing; and his perfect disinterestedness; but as to his gentleness, patience and moderation with regard to the feuds and divisions which usually break out in a state, these he could never imitate. A certain spirit of contention, which resulted naturally from his head-

(p) Plut. in Philop. p. 356—361.

strong

strong and fiery temper, had qualified him better for the military than political virtue.

And indeed, from his infancy, the only class of people he loved was soldiers; and he took a delight only in such exercises, as were necessary to qualify him for the profession of arms; such as fighting in armour, riding, and throwing the javelin. And as he seemed by his muscles and stature to be very well made for wrestling; and some particular friends advising him to apply himself to it, he asked them, whether this exercise of the *Athletæ* contributed to the making a man the better soldier? His friends could not help answering, that the life of the *Athletæ*, who were obliged to observe a fixed and regular regimen; to eat a certain food, and that always at stated hours; and to devote a certain number of hours to sleep, in order to preserve their robustness, in which the greatest part of their merit consisted; that this way of life, I say, differed entirely from that of soldiers, who frequently are obliged to submit to hunger and thirst, cold and heat; and have not always fixed hours either for eating or sleeping. From thenceforth he conceived the highest contempt for the Athletic exercises; looking upon them as of no service to the public, and considering them, from that instant, as unworthy a man of any elevation of soul, happiness of talents, or love for his country.

The moment he quitted his governors and masters, he entered among the troops which the city of Megalopolis sent to make incursions into Laconia, in order to plunder and bring off from thence cattle and slaves. And in all these inroads, he was ever the first that marched out, and the last who came in.

During the intervals in which there were no troops in the field, he used to employ his leisure in hunting, to make himself robust and nimble; or else used to spend his hours in throwing up and cultivating the ground, having a fine estate three miles from the city, whither he used to retire very frequently after dinner or supper. At night he would throw himself on a bed of straw,

like one of his slaves, and sleep so till next day. The next morning, by day-break, he used to go with his vine-dressers, and work in the vineyard, or follow the plough with his peasants. After this, it was his custom to return to the city, and employ himself in public affairs with his friends and the magistrates.

Whatever he got in wars, he expended either in horses and arms, or employed it in ransoming the citizens who had been taken prisoners. He endeavoured to increase his estate, by improving his lands, which of all profits is the most lawful; and was not satisfied with barely visiting it now and then, and merely for diversion sake, but devoted his whole care to it; persuaded, that nothing is more worthy of a man of probity and honour, than to improve his own fortune, provided he does not injure that of his neighbour.

I must intreat my readers, in order for them to form a right judgment of Philopœmen, to convey themselves in imagination back to the ages I am speaking of, and to call to mind with what industry all well-governed nations, as Hebrews, Persians, Greeks and Romans, applied themselves to the tilling of land and manual labour; and the high esteem in which such exercises were had in those ages. It is universally known that the Romans, after having gained signal victories, and alighted from the triumphal carr crowned with laurels and glory, returned immediately to their farms, whence they had been elected to command armies; and went to guide the plough and oxen, with the same hands which had just before vanquished and defeated their enemies. According to our customs and way of thinking, the exercises above mentioned are very low and contemptible; but it is an unhappiness they should be thought so. Luxury, by corrupting our manners, has vitiated our judgments. It makes us consider as great and valuable, what really in itself deserves nothing but contempt; and it affixes, on the contrary, an idea of contempt and meanness, to things of solid beauty and real greatness.

Philopœmen was very fond of the commerce of philosophers, and read their works with the greatest satisfaction ; however, he did not read them all without distinction, but such only as could contribute to his improvement in virtue. Of all the great ideas in Homer, he sought and retained such only as exalt the courage, and excite to great exploits, and that poet abounds with ideas of this kind, no writer having ever painted valour in such strong and lively colours. But the other works in which Philopœmen delighted most, were those of Evangelus, called *the Tactics*, that is, the art of drawing up troops in battle-array ; and the histories of Alexander the Great : For it was his opinion, that words should always be made relative to actions, and theory to practice ; having very little regard for those books that are written merely to satisfy a vain curiosity, or furnish a rapid and transient amusement.

After he had read the precepts and rules of the *Tactics*, he did not value the seeing demonstrations of them in plans drawn upon paper, but used to make the application on the spot, in the several places he came to : for in his marches, he used to observe exactly the position of the hills as well as vallies ; all the irregularities of the ground ; the several different forms and figures battalions and squadrons are obliged to take by rivulets, floods and defiles in their way, which oblige them to close or extend themselves : and after having reflected seriously on these particulars, he would discourse on them with those in his company.

He was in his thirtieth year when Cleomenes king of Sparta attacked Megalopolis. We have seen what courage and greatness of soul he displayed on that occasion. He signalized himself no less, some months after, in the battle of Selasia, where Antigonus gained a famous victory over the same Cleomenes. That king of Macedon, charmed with such exalted merit, to which he himself had been witness, made him very advantageous offers, to attach him to his service. However,

ever, so great was his love for his country, that he refused them ; not to mention that he had naturally an aversion to a court-life, which not only requires great subjection in the man who devotes himself to it, but deprives him of his liberty. However, as it was impossible for him to pass his life in indolence and inaction, he went into Crete which was engaged in war, to improve himself in the art of war. Crete served him as an excellent school ; so that he made a great progress in it, and acquired a perfect knowledge in that science. He there found men of a very warlike disposition, expert in combats of every kind, extremely temperate, and inured to a most severe discipline.

After having served for some time in the troops of that island, he returned among the Achæans, who had heard such great things of him, that immediately upon his arrival he was appointed general of the horse. The first thing he did was, to enquire into the state of his forces, among whom he did not find the least order or discipline. But he could neither dissemble or suffer such a degeneracy. He himself therefore went from city to city, exhorting particularly all the young men ; inspiring them with sentiments of honour, animating them with promises of reward ; and sometimes employing severity and punishment when he found them rebellious and ungovernable. He exercised and reviewed them often ; or made them engage in tournaments, on such spots as would admit of the greatest number of spectators. By this practice, he soon made all his soldiers so robust, expert and courageous, and at the same time so ready and nimble, that the several evolutions and motions, to the right, to the left, or from the top to the bottom, either of all the squadrons together, or of each trooper singly, was performed with so much skill and ease, that a spectator would almost have concluded, that this cavalry, like one individual body, moved itself spontaneously, at the impression of one and the same will.

In the battle fought near the city of Elis, the last we mentioned, and in which he commanded the horse, he gained great honour; and it was said universally, that he was not inferior to any of the private soldiers, with regard to the strength and ardor of his attacks; nor showed less wisdom and prudence than the oldest and most experienced generals; and that therefore he was equally capable either of fighting or commanding.

Aratus, indeed, was the first who raised the Achæan league, to the exalted pitch of glory and power it attained. Till he rose, they were weak and greatly despised, because divided, and every city among them was studious of nothing but its private interest. But Aratus made them formidable, by uniting and allying them together; and his design was, to form one body and one power of all Peloponnesus, which, by this union, would have become invincible. The success of his enterprizes was not owing so much to his courage and intrepidity, as to his prudence, address, affability, benevolence; and, which was considered as a defect in his politics, to the friendship he contracted with foreign princes, and which indeed subjected his state to them. But, the instant Philopœmen assumed the reins of government, as he was a great captain, and had come off victorious in all his former battles, he roused the courage of the Achæans; and finding they were able to make head alone against their enemies, he obliged them to shake off the yoke of foreign powers.

He made a great number of improvements in the discipline of the Achæan troops, and changed the manner of their exercise, and their arms, which had a great many defects. He obliged them to use large and ponderous shields; gave them strong lances, helmets, and armour for the breast and thigh; and thereby accustomed them to fight vigorously and gain ground, instead of hovering and flying about like light-armed troops, who rather skirmish than fight in line of battle.

He

He afterwards endeavoured at another improvement, which was much more difficult as well as more important in one sense, and this was, to curb and restrain their luxury, and excessive profusion and expence. I say, to restrain; imagining that it would not be possible for him to eradicate their violent fondness for dress and outward ornaments. He began by substituting a different object in their place, by inspiring them with a love for another kind of magnificence, *viz.* to distinguish themselves by their horses, their arms, and other things relating to war. This ardour had an effect even on their women, who now spent their whole time in working for their husbands or children. The only things now seen in their hands were helmets, which they adorned with plumes of feathers tinged with the brightest dyes; coats of mail for horsemen, and cloaks for the soldiers, all which they embroidered. The bare sight of these habits inflamed their courage, breathed in them a strong desire to defy the greatest dangers, and a kind of impatience to fly in quest of glory. Pomp in all other things, which attract the eye, (says Plutarch) infallibly induces luxury; and inspires all those who take a pleasure in gazing upon it, with a secret effeminacy and indolence: the senses enchanted and dazzled by these deceitful charms, conspiring to seduce the mind itself, and to enervate it by their soft insinuations. But on the contrary, that magnificence whose object is arms, animates and exalts courage.

Philopœmen is not the only great man who had this way of thinking. (q) Plutarch observes that Brutus, who had accustomed his officers not to be superfluous on any other occasion, was persuaded that the richness and splendour of the armour and weapons which soldiers have always in their hands or on their bodies, exalts the courage of men who are naturally brave and ambitious; and engages such as are of a covetous temper, to exert themselves the more in fight, in or-

(q) Plut. in Brut. p. 1001.

der to defend their arms, which they look upon as a precious and honourable possession. The author in question tells us, that the circumstance which gained Sertorius the affection of the Spaniards was, his bestowing on them with a very liberal hand, gold and silver to adorn their helmets, and enrich their shields. This was also the opinion of * Cæsar, who always gave his soldiers arms that glittered with gold and silver; and this he did not only for pomp and splendor, but that they might act with greater courage in battle, for the defence of arms of so great a value.

However, I must not omit observing, that generals no less renowned than those we have mentioned, differed in opinion from them. (r) Mithridates, taught by his misfortunes, of the little advantage which splendor is to an army, would not allow such arms as were gilded and enriched with precious stones; and began to consider them, as the riches of the conqueror, and not the strength of those who wore them. Papirius, the famous dictator, who, by defeating the Samnites, repaid the affront which the Romans had received at the Furcæ Caudinæ, said † to his troops, that it was proper for a soldier to appear with a rough and stern aspect; that ornaments of gold and silver ill became him; and that steel and bravery ought to form his glory and pride. And indeed, adds he, gold and silver are rather spoils than arms. These ornaments dazzle the eye before the battle; but make a most hideous appearance in the midst of blood and slaughter. The soldier's ornament is his valour; the rest is always con-

(r) Plut. in Lucullo, p. 496.

* Habebat tam cultos milites, ut argento & auro politis armis ornaret, simul & ad speciem, & quo tenaciores eorum in prælio essent metu damni, *Sueton. in Jul. Cæs.* c. 67.

† Horridum militem esse debere, non cælatum auro argentoque,

sed ferro & animis fretum. Quippe illa prædam veriùs quàm arma esse; nitentia ante rem, deformia inter sanguinem & vulnera. Virtutem esse militis decus, & omnia illa victoriam sequi: & ditem hostem quamvis pauperis victoris præmium esse, *Liv.* l. 9. n. 40.

sequential

sequential of victory. A rich enemy falls a prey to the conqueror, how poor soever he may be. It is well known, that † Alexander the Great entertained the same idea of the richness and magnificence of the arms of the Persians.

In this opposition of opinions, it does not become me to pronounce, which of those great men had the most just way of thinking. But however this be, we cannot but admire the judgment of Philopœmen, who seeing luxury prevalent and established in his country, did not think it adviseable to banish it entirely; but contented himself with directing it to an object more laudable in itself and more worthy of brave men.

After Philopœmen had accustomed the young men to make their splendor consist in that of their arms, he himself exercised and formed them very carefully in all the parts of military discipline. On the other side, the youths were very attentive to the instructions he gave them concerning military evolutions; whence there arose a kind of emulation among them, which should execute them with the greatest ease and diligence. They were prodigiously pleased with the manner of drawing up in order of battle, which he taught them; because they conceived that where the ranks were so very close, they would be the more difficult to break; and their arms, though much more ponderous than before, felt much lighter, because they took greater delight in carrying them from their splendor and beauty; and for this reason they panted to try them, and to see them imbrued in the blood of their enemies.

It must be confessed that Philopœmen, in what light soever we view him, is a great captain, and a noble pattern for the imitation of all who embrace a military life. I cannot too strongly exhort young officers and noblemen, to study diligently so perfect a model;

† *Acie[m] hostium auro purpureque fulgentem intueri jubebat, prædam non arma gestantem.*

Irent, & imbellibus feminis aurum viri eriperent. 2. Curt. l. 3. c. 10.

and to imitate him in all those things in which he is imitable by them. Our young noblemen are full of courage, sentiments of honour, love of their country, and zeal for their prince: The war which broke out so suddenly in Europe, and to which they fly with incredible ardour, is a convincing proof of this, and especially their behaviour in Italy and on the Rhine. They have fire, vivacity, genius; and do not want talents and qualities capable of raising them to whatever is greatest: But then, they sometimes want a manly and vigorous education, which alone can form great men in every kind. Our manners being unhappily turned, through a taste, which prevails almost universally, towards effeminacy, pleasures, and luxury, the admiration of things trifling in themselves, and a fondness for false splendor, enervate our courage in our most tender years, and blunt the edge of that valour of antient Gaul, which was once natural to us.

Were the youth among our nobility educated like Philopœmen, so far, I mean, as is consistent with our manners; were they to imbibe in their early years an inclination for studies of a solid kind, such as philosophy, history, and polity; were they to propose as models for their imitation, the many illustrious generals which the last age produced; were they to put themselves under the discipline of those who are now the ornament and glory of our nation; and would they once duly consider, that true greatness does not consist in surpassing others merely in pomp and profusion, but in distinguishing themselves by solid merit; in fine, were they to make it their delight and glory to perfect themselves in the military knowledge; to study it in all its parts, and acquire the true scope and design of it, without omitting any of the means, which conduce to their perfection in it; how illustrious a set of officers, commanders, and heroes would France not produce! One single man inspired the breast of the Achæans with this ardour and emulation. How much were it to be wished, (and why should we not

not wish it?) that some one of our princes, great in all things, in valour as well as birth, would revive in our armies this taste of the antients, for simplicity, frugality, and generosity; and direct the taste of the French nation, to things truly beautiful, solid, and just! All conquests would be infinitely short of such a glory.

SECT. VI. *Various expeditions of Philip and Sulpitius.
A digression of Polybius upon signals made by fire.*

(3) **W**E have already said, that Sulpitius the proconsul, and king Attalus, had continued in winter quarters at Aëgina. As soon as spring appeared they had quitted them, and sailed to Lemnos with their fleets, which together amounted to sixty gallees. Philip on the other side, that he might be able to oppose the enemy either by sea or land, advanced towards Demetrias, whither the ambassadors of the allies came from all parts, to implore his aid in the imminent danger to which they were exposed. Philip gave them a favourable reception; and promised to furnish them with such succours as the present juncture, and the necessity of their affairs might require. He kept his promise, and sent bodies of soldiers into different places, to secure them from the attacks of the enemy. He repaired to Scotusa, and made his troops march thither from Larissa which lies very near it; and then returned to Demetrias. And in order to give seasonable succour to such of his allies as should be attacked, he fixed signals in Phocis, Eubœa, and in the little island of Peparethos; and placed, in that part where he lay, on Tisæum, a very lofty mountain of Thessaly, men to observe them, that he might have speedy notice of the enemy's march, and of the places he might design to attack. I shall explain these signals hereafter.

(3) A. M. 3797. Ant. J. C. 207. Polyb. l. 10. p. 612—614. Liv. l. 28. n. 5—8.

The proconsul and king Attalus advanced towards Eubœa, and laid siege to Oræa, one of its chief cities. It was defended by two castles strongly fortified, and was able to hold out a long time; but Plator, who commanded it under Philip, surrendered it treacherously to the besiegers. He had purposely made the signals too late, that Philip might not have an opportunity of succouring it. But the same did not happen to Chalcis, which Sulpitius besieged immediately after the taking of Oræa. The signals were made very seasonably there; and the commander, deaf and inaccessible to the offers of the proconsul, prepared for a stout defence. Sulpitius perceived that he had made an imprudent attempt, and was so wise as to desist immediately from it. The city was strongly fortified in itself; and besides, situated on the Euripus, that famous strait, * in which the sea does not ebb and flow seven times every day, at fixed and stated hours, as (says Livy) is commonly reported, but irregularly, whilst the waves roll on all sides with so much impetuosity, that they seem like torrents falling precipitately from the mountains; so that ships can never ride there in safety.

Attalus besieged Opuntus, a city situated not far from the sea-side, among the Locrians, in Achaia. Philip advanced with incredible diligence to its aid, having marched upwards of † sixty miles in one day. The city had been just taken before he arrived at it; and he might have surprized Attalus, who was employed in plundering the place, had not the latter, the instant he heard of his approach, retired with great pre-

* Haud alia infestior classi statio est. Nam & venti ab utriusque terræ præaltis montibus subiti ac procellosi se dejiciunt, & fretum ipsum Euripi, non septies die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statim reciprocatur; sed temere, in modum venti nunc huc nunc illuc verso

mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte, nec die, quies navibus datur. *Liv.*

† So Livy has it; which is certainly a prodigious day's march for an army.

cipitation.

cipitation. However, Philip pursued him to the sea-side.

Attalus having retired to Oræa, and received advice there, that Prusias king of Bithynia had entered his territories, he returned towards Asia, and Sulpitius to the island of Ægina. Philip, after having taken some small cities, and frustrated the project of Machanidas, the Spartan tyrant, who designed to attack the people of Elis, that were employed in preparing for the solemnization of the Olympic games; he repaired to the assembly of the Achæans, which was held at Ægium, where he expected to find the Carthaginian fleet, and to join it with his own; but advice being brought, that the ships of the Romans and king Attalus were failed away, his did the same.

Philip * was truly grieved to find, that though he employed the utmost diligence in all his projects, he always came too late to put them in execution; fortune, would he say, taking a pleasure in bereaving him of every opportunity, and in frustrating all his incursions and expeditions. However he concealed his uneasiness from the assembly, and spoke with an air of confidence and resolution. Having called the gods and men to witness, that he had never neglected any opportunity of marching out, on all occasions, in quest of an enemy; he added, that he did not know which side used the greatest dispatch; whether himself in flying to the aid of his allies, or his enemies in escaping his pursuits: That this was a tacit confession that they thought themselves inferior to him in strength; nevertheless, that he hoped soon to gain so compleat a victory over them, as would evidently demonstrate his superiority. This speech greatly encouraged the allies: After having given the necessary orders, and made some expeditions of no great importance, he returned

* Philippus merebat & angebatur, cum ad omnia ipse raptimisset, nulli tamen se rei in tempore

occurrisse; & rapientem omnia ex oculis elusisse celeritatem suam fortunam. *Liv.*

into Macedonia, to carry on the war against the Dardani-
dani-ans.

Digression of Polybius, on the signals made by fire.

The subject which Polybius here treats is curious enough in itself; and besides, it bears so near a relation to the facts I am now relating, as to excuse my introducing a digression, that will not be of a great length, and which the reader may pass over if he finds it tedious. I shall repeat it almost literally as I find it in Polybius. Livy, in his account of the particulars above related, and which he copied almost verbatim from Polybius, * mentions the same signals made by fire: But then he only hints at them, because as they were not invented by the Romans, consequently this was a subject which did not relate so immediately to the history he was writing. But this artifice of the signals, which is a part of the art of war, belongs properly to the history of the Greeks, and shows to how great a perfection they had carried all the parts of that noble art, the judicious reflexions they had formed in all things relative to it, and the astonishing progress they had made (t), in respect to the construction of machines of war, different kinds of armour and military signals.

As the making of signals by fire, says Polybius, though of great use in war, has hitherto not been treated with any accuracy; I believe it will not be proper to pass over them superficially, but to dwell a little upon that head, in order to give my readers a more perfect idea of it.

It is a truth universally acknowledged, that opportunity is of great advantage in all things, but especially

(t) Polyb. l. 10. p. 614—618.

* Philippus, ut ad omnes hostium motus posset occurrere, in Phocidem atque Eubœam, & Peparethum mittit, qui loca alta eligerent, unde editi ignes apparerent: ipse in Tifæo (mons est in altitu-

dinem ingentem cacuminis editi) speculam posuit, ut ignibus procul sublati, signum, ubi quid meliorum hostes, momento temporis acciperet. Liv. l. 28. n. 5.

in war. Now, among the several things which have been invented to enable men to seize it, nothing can be more conducive to that end than signals made by fire. Whether transactions have happened but a little before, or are then transacting; they may, by this method, be very easily made known, at places distant three or four days journey from where they happened, and sometimes at a still greater distance; and by this help, the necessary aids may be obtained in time.

Formerly this method of giving notice, was of very little advantage, because of its too great simplicity. For, in order to the making use of it, it was necessary that certain signals should be agreed upon: and as events are infinitely various, it was impossible to communicate the greatest part of them by this method. As for instance, not to depart from the present history, it was very easy to make known at a distance, that a fleet was arrived at Oræa, at Peparethos, or at Chalcis; because the parties whom it concerned had foreseen this, and accordingly had agreed upon such signals as might denote it. But an unexpected insurrection, a treason, an horrid murder committed in a city, and such like accidents as happen but too often, and which cannot be foreseen; this kind of events, which require immediate consideration and remedy, cannot be signified by a beacon. For it is not possible to agree upon a signal for such events as it is impossible to foresee.

Æneas*, who wrote a treatise on the duties of a general, endeavoured to compleat what was wanting on this occasion; but he was far from succeeding so well as could have been wished, or as he himself had proposed, of which the reader may now judge.

* Æneas was cotemporary with Aristotle. He wrote a treatise on the art of war. Cineas, one of Pyrrhus's counsellors, made an abridgment of it. Pyrrhus also writ on the same subject. Ælian. Taët. cap. 1. Cicero mentions the

two last in one of his epistles. Summum me ducem literarum reddiderunt. Plane nesciebam te tam peritum esse rei militaris. Pyrrhi te libros et Cineæ video lætasse. Lib. 9. Epist. 25. ad Papir. Poetam.

Those,

Those, says he, who would give signals to one another, upon affairs of importance, must first prepare two vessels of earth, exactly equal in breadth and depth: and they need be but four foot and a half deep, and a foot and a half wide. They then must take pieces of cork, proportioned to the mouth of these vessels, but not quite so wide, that they may be let down with ease to the bottom of these vessels. They next fix, in the middle of this cork, a stick, which must be of equal size in both these vessels. This stick must be divided exactly and distinctly by spaces of three inches each, in order that such events as generally happen in war may be writ on them. For example, in one of these intervals the following words may be writ. A BODY OF HORSE ARE MARCHED INTO THE COUNTRY. On another: A BODY OF INFANTRY HEAVILY ARMED, ARE ARRIVED HITHER. On a third: INFANTRY LIGHTLY ARMED. On a fourth: HORSE AND FOOT. On another: SHIPS. Then PROVISIONS; and so on, till all the events which may probably happen in the war that is carrying on, are writ down in these intervals.

This being done, each of the two vessels must have a little tube or cock of equal bigness, to let out the water in equal proportion. Then, the two vessels must be filled with water; the pieces of cork, with their sticks thrust through them, must be laid upon them, and the cocks must be opened. Now it is plain, that as the vessels are equal, the corks will sink, and the sticks descend lower in the vessels, in proportion as they empty themselves. But to be more certain of this exactness, it will be proper to make the experiment first, and to examine whether all things correspond and agree together, by an uniform execution on both sides.

When they are well assured of this, the two vessels must be carried to the two places where the signals are to be made and observed: water is poured in, and the corks and sticks are put in the vessels. In pro-

portion as any of the events which are written on the sticks shall happen, a torch, or other light is raised, which must be held aloft, till such time as another is raised by the party to whom it is directed. (This first signal is only to give notice that both parties are ready and attentive.) Then the torch or other light must be taken away, and the cocks set open. When the interval, that is, that part of the stick where the event of which notice is to be given is written, shall be fallen to a level with the vessels, then the man who gives the signal lifts up his torch; and on the other side, the correspondent signal-maker immediately turns the cock of his vessel, and looks at what is writ on that part of the stick which touches the mouth of the vessel; on which occasion, if every thing has been executed exactly and equally on both sides, both will read the same thing.

Although this method differs from that which was practised in early ages, in which men agreed only upon a single signal which was to denote the event the other party desired to be informed of, and which had been agreed upon; it nevertheless was too vague and indeterminate. For it is impossible to foresee all the accidents that may happen in a war; and though they could be foreseen, there would be no possibility of writing them all on a piece of stick. Besides, when any unexpected accident should happen, how could notice be given of it according to this method? To this I may add, that the inscription on the stick is no ways exact and circumstantial. We are not told how many horse and foot are come; what part of the country they are in; how many ships are arrived, nor the quantity of provisions we have. For, before these several particulars could be written on the stick, they must have been foreseen, which was altogether impossible, though most essential; and how can succours be sent, when it is not known how many enemies are to be opposed, nor in what part of the country they are? How must a party either confide in or doubt

doubt their own strength? In a word, how will they know what to do, when they are not told how many ships, or what quantity of provisions are come from the enemy?

The last method was invented by Cleoxenus, which others ascribe to Democlitus; however we have improved it, says Polybius, who continues the sole speaker upon this head. This fixes every circumstance, and enables us to give notice of whatsoever happens. The only thing required, is great care and exactness. This method is as follows.

The twenty-four letters of the alphabet must be taken and divided into five parts; and these must be fixed on a board, from top to bottom, in their natural order on five columns; five letters in each column, the last excepted, which is to have but four.

The alphabet being disposed in this manner, the man who is to make the signal must begin by showing two torches or lights; and these he must hold aloft till the other party has also shown two lights. This first signal is only to show that both sides are ready, after which the lights must be removed.

The affair now is, to make the other party read, in this alphabet, the advices we want to acquaint them with. The person who gives the signal, shall hold up torches to his left, in order to denote to the correspondent party, from which of the columns he must take letters, to write them down in proportion as they shall be pointed out to him; so that if it is the first column, he only holds up one torch; if the second, he shows two, and so on, and always to the left. He must do the same to the right hand, to point out to the person who receives the signal, which letter in the column he must observe and write down. This both parties must agree upon between them.

These several things being fixed, and each of them got to his post, the man who gives the signal must have a * geometrical instrument with two tubes, in

* The figure of it is annexed at the end of this little treatise.

order that he may know by one of them the right, and by the other the left of him who is to answer. The board must be set up near to this instrument; and to the right and left a solid must be raised ten foot broad, and about the height of a man; in order that the torches which shall be lifted up over it, may spread a strong, clear light; and that when they are to be lowered, they may be entirely hid behind them.

All things being thus disposed on each side, I will suppose, for instance, that advice is to be given, that, *An hundred Cretans or Kretans are gone over to the enemy.* First, he must make choice of such words as will express what is here said in the fewest letters possible, as *Cretans or Kretans* * *an hundred have deserted*, which expresses the very same idea in much fewer letters.

The first letter is a K, which is in the second column. Two torches must therefore be lifted to the left, to inform the person who receives the signal, that he must look into the second column. He then must lift up five torches to the right, to denote that the letter sought for is the fifth of the second column, that is a K.

Afterwards four torches must be held up to the left, to point out the P † which is in the fourth column; then two to the right, to denote that this letter is the second of the fourth column. The same must be observed with respect to the rest of the letters.

By this method, every event that comes to pass may be denoted in a fixed and determinate manner. The reason why two sets of lights are used is, because every letter must be pointed out twice; the first, to denote the column to which it belongs; and the second, to show its place in order in the columns pointed out. If the persons employed on these occasions observe the rules here laid down, they will give exact notice: But it must be practised a long time, before they will be able to be very quick and exact in the operation.

* The words are disposed in this manner in the Greek.

† This is the capital letter P in the Greek tongue.

This is what is proposed by Polybius, who, it is well known, was a great soldier and politician, and for this reason his hints ought to be valued. They might be improved and put in practice on a great many occasions. These signals were employed in a mountainous country.

A pamphlet was lent me, printed in 1702, and entitled, *The art of making signals both by sea and land*. The pamphlet was dedicated to the king, by the Sieur Marcel, commissioner of the navy at Arles. This author affirms, that he had communicated several times, at the distance of two leagues, (in as short a space of time as a man could write down, and form exactly the letters contained in the advice he would communicate) an unexpected piece of news that took up a page in writing.

I cannot say what this new invention was, nor what success it met with; but in my opinion such discoveries as these ought not to be neglected. In all ages and nations, men have been very desirous of finding out and employing methods for receiving or communicating speedy advices; and of these, signals by fire are one of the principal.

(1) In the fabulous times, when the fifty daughters of Danaus murdered all their husbands in one night, Hypermnestra excepted, who spared Lynceus; it is related that both flying, and each being arrived at a place of safety, they informed one another of it by signals made by fire; and that this circumstance gave rise to the festival of torches established in Argos.

Agamemnon, at his setting out for the Trojan expedition, had promised Clytemnestra, that the very day the city should be taken, he would give notice of the victory by fires kindled for that purpose. He kept his word, as appears from the tragedy of Æschylus, which takes its name from that prince: where the she-centinel, appointed to watch this signal, declares

(1) Pausan. l. 2. p. 130.

she had spent many tedious nights in that uncomfortable post.

We also find * by the writings of Julius Cæsar, that he himself used the same method.

Cæsar gives us an account of another method in use amongst the Gauls. Whenever any extraordinary event happened in their country, or they stood in need of immediate succour, they gave notice to one another by repeated shouts, which were caught from place to place; so that the massacre of the Romans in Orleans at sun-rise, was known by eight or nine a-clock in the evening in Auvergne, forty leagues from the other city.

(u) We are told of a much shorter method. It is pretended that the king of Persia, when he carried the war into Greece, had posted a kind of centinels at proper distances, who communicated to one another by their voices, such news as it was necessary to transmit to a great distance; and that advice could be communicated from Athens to Susa (upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues) in forty-eight hours.

It is also related, that a † Sidonian proposed to Alexander the Great, an infallible method for establishing a speedy and safe communication between all the countries subject to him. He required but five days for giving notice, from so great a distance as between his hereditary kingdom, and his most remote conquest in India: but the king, looking upon this offer as a mere chimera, rejected it with contempt: However, he soon repented it, and very justly; for the experiment might have been made with little trouble to himself.

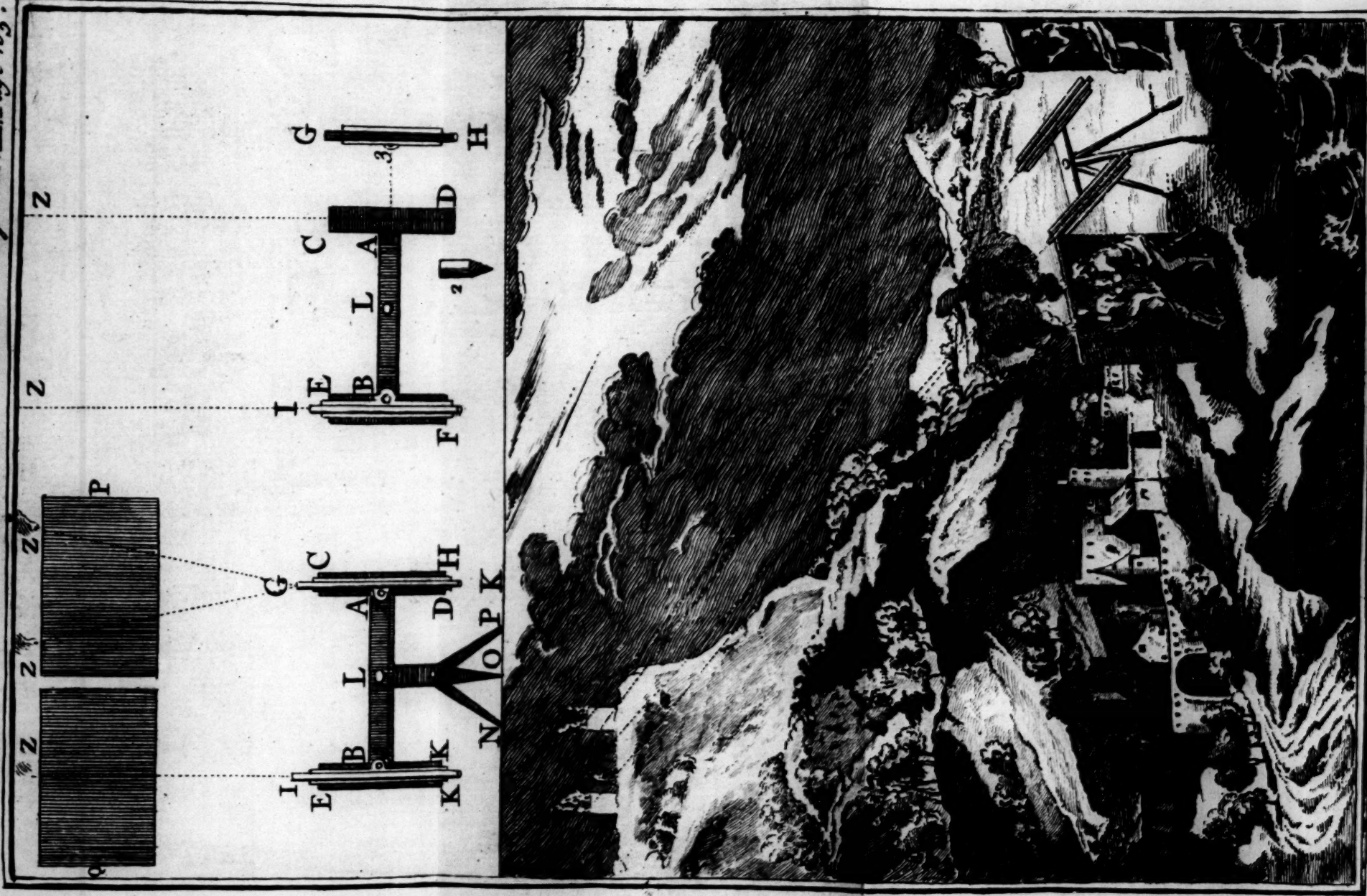
(x) Pliny relates another method, which is not altogether improbable. Decimus Brutus defended the

(u) Coel. Rhodig. l. 18. c. 8.

(x) Plin. l. 7. c. 37.

* Celeriter, ut antè Cæsar imperaverat, ignibus significatione facta, ex proximis castellis eò concursus est. *Cæs. Bell. Gall.* l. 2.

† Vigenere in his remarks on the seventh book of Cæsar's wars in Gaul, relates this without citing directly the author.



Signals made by Fire.

L. P. Bonnard sculp.

city of Modena besieged by Anthony, who prevented his sending the least advice to the consuls, by drawing lines round the city, and laying nets in the river. However, Brutus employed pigeons, to whose feet he fastened letters, which arrived in safety wherever he thought proper to send them. Of what use, says * Pliny, were Anthony's intrenchments and centinels to him? of what service were all the nets he spread, when the new courier took his rout through the air.

Travellers relate, that to carry advices from Alexandria to Aleppo, when ships arrive in that harbour, they make use of pigeons, who have young ones at Aleppo. A letter, containing the advices to be communicated, is fastened about the pigeons necks or feet; this being done, the pigeons take wing, soar to a great height, and fly to Aleppo, where the letters are taken from them. The same method is used in many other places.

Description of the instrument employed in signals made by fire.

MR. Chevalier, mathematical professor in the royal college, a fellow member with me, and my particular friend, has been so good as to delineate, at my request, the figure of the instrument mentioned by Polybius, and to add the following explication of it.

In this manner I conceive the idea I have of the instrument described by Polybius, for communicating advices at a great distance, by signals made by fire.

A B is a beam about four or five foot long, five or six inches broad, and two or three inches thick. At the extremities of it are, well dove-tailed, and fixed exactly perpendicular in the middle, two cross pieces of wood, C D, E F, of equal breadth and thickness with the beam; and three or four foot long. The sides of these cross pieces of timber must be exactly parallel, and their upper superficies very smooth. In

* Quid vallum, & vigil obfidio, atque etiam retia amne præ-

texta profuere Antonio, per cœlum eunte nuntio?

the middle of the surface of each of these pieces, a right line must be drawn parallel to their sides; and consequently these lines will be parallel to one another. At an inch and a half, or two inches distance from these lines, and exactly in the middle of the length of each cross piece, there must be drove in very strongly, and exactly perpendicular, an iron or brass screw, (2) whose upper part, which must be cylindrical, and five or six * lines in diameter, shall project seven or eight lines, above the superficies of these cross pieces.

On these pieces must be placed two hollow tubes or cylinders G H, I K, through which the observations are made. These tubes must be exactly cylindrical, and formed of some hard, solid metal, in order that they may not shrink or warp. They must be a foot longer than the cross pieces on which they are fixed, and thereby will extend six inches beyond it at each end. These two tubes must be fixed on two plates of the same metal, in the middle of whose length shall be a small convexity, (3) of about an inch round. In the middle of this part (3) must be a hole exactly round, about half an inch in diameter; so that applying the plates on which these tubes are fixed, upon the cross pieces of wood C D, E F, this hole must be exactly filled by the projecting and cylindrical part of the screw, (2) which was fixed in it, and in such a manner as to prevent its play. The head of the screw may extend, some lines, beyond the superficies of the plates. And in such a manner as that those tubes may turn, with their plates about these screws, in order to direct them on the boards or screens P, Q, behind which the signals by fire are made, according to the different distances of the places where the signals shall be given.

The tubes must be blacked within, in order that when the eye is applied to one of their ends, it may not receive any reflected rays. There must also be placed about the end, on the side of the observer, a

* *Twelfth part of an inch.*

perforated ring, the aperture of which must be of three or four lines; and place at the other end, two threads, the one vertical, and the other horizontal, crossing one another in the axis of the tube.

In the middle of the beam A B must be made a round hole, two inches in diameter, in which must be fixed the foot L M N O P, which supports the whole machine, and round which it turns as on its axis. This machine may be called a rule and sights, though it differs from that which is applied to circumferencers, theodolites, and even geometrical squares, which are used to draw maps, take plans, and survey, &c. but it has the same uses, which is to direct the sight.

The person who makes the signal, and he who receives it, must have the like instrument; otherwise, the man who receives the signal could not distinguish whether the signals made, are to the right or left of him who makes them, which is an essential circumstance, according to the method proposed by Polybius.

The two boards or screens P Q, which are to denote the right and left hand of the man who gives the signals; or to display or hide the fires, according to the circumstance of the observation, ought to be greater or less, and nearer or farther distant from one another, according as the distance between the places where the signals must be given and received, is greater or less.

In my description of the preceding machine, all I endeavoured was, to explain the manner how Polybius's idea might be put in execution, in making signals by fire; but I do not pretend to say, that it is of use, for giving signals at a considerable distance. For it is certain that, how large soever this machine be, signals made by 2, 3, 4, and 5 torches, will not be seen at 5, 6, or more leagues distance, as he supposes. To make them visible at a greater distance, such torches must not be made use of, as can be lifted up and down with the hand, but large wide spreading fires, of whole loads of straw or wood; and consequently,

boards or screens of a prodigious size must be employed, to hide or eclipse them.

Telescopes were not known in Polybius's time, they were not discovered or improved till the last century. Those instruments might have made the signals in question visible, at a much greater distance than bare tubes could have done : but I still doubt, whether they could be employed to the use mentioned by Polybius, at a greater distance than two or three leagues. However, I am of opinion, that a city besieged might communicate advice to an army sent to succour it, or give notice how long time it could hold out a siege, in order to taking proper measures ; and that, on the other side, the army sent to its aid might communicate its designs to the city besieged, especially by the assistance of telescopes.

SECT. VII. *Philopœmen gains a famous victory near Mantinea, over Machanidas tyrant of Sparta. The high regard paid to that general. Nabis succeeds Machanidas. Some instances of his avarice and cruelty. A general peace concluded between Philip and the Romans, in which the allies on both sides are included.*

THE Romans, wholly employed in the war with Hannibal, which they resolved to terminate, intermeddled very little with that of the Greeks, and did not molest them during the two following years.

(y) In the first, Philopœmen was appointed captain-general of the Achæans. As soon as he was invested with this employment, which was the highest in the state, he assembled his allies before he took the field ; and exhorted them to second his zeal with courage and warmth, and support with honour both their same and his. He insisted strongly on the care they ought to take, not of the beauty and magnificence of the dress, which became women only, and those too of little merit ; but of the neatness and

(y) A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206. Polyb. l. II. p. 629—631.

splendor

splendor of their arms, an object worthy of men, intent upon their own glory and the good of their country.

His speech was received with universal applause, that, at the breaking up of the assembly, all those who were magnificently dressed were pointed at; so great an influence have the words of an illustrious person, not only in dissuading men from vice, but in inclining them to virtue; especially when his actions correspond with his words; for then, it is scarce possible to resist his exhortations. This was the character of Philopœmen. Plain in his dress, and frugal in his diet, he took very little care of his body. In conversation he suffered patiently the ill temper of others, even when they used contemptuous expressions: and, for himself, he was sure never to give the least offence to any one. It was his study during his life to speak nothing but the truth: and indeed, the slightest expressions of his were heard with respect, and immediately believed. And he was not obliged to employ a great many words to persuade; his conduct being a rule of what every body else ought to do.

The assembly being dismissed, every body returned to their respective cities, in the highest admiration of Philopœmen, whose words as well as actions had charmed them; and fully persuaded, that as long as he should preside in the government, it could not but flourish. He immediately visited the several cities, and gave the necessary orders in them. He assembled the people in every place; acquainted them with every thing that was necessary to be done, and raised troops. After spending near eight months in making the various preparations, he took the field.

(z) Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedæmonia, was watching, at the head of a powerful army, for an opportunity to subject all Peloponnesus. The moment advice was brought of his arrival in the territories of Mantinea, Philopœmen prepared to give him battle.

(z) Polyb. l. II. p. 631—637. Plat. in Philop. p. 361.

The

The tyrant of Sparta set out upon his march at day-break, at the head of the heavy-armed infantry, and posted to the right and left on the same line, but a little more advanced, the light-infantry composed of foreigners; and behind them chariots loaded with * catapultæ, and darts to sustain them. It appears by the sequel, that before him lay a ditch, that run along part of the plain, beyond which his troops extended at each end.

At the same time Philopœmen marched his army in three bodies out of the city. The first consisting of Achæan horse, was posted to the right. The second, composed of heavy-armed foot, was in the center, and advanced to the ditch. The third, composed of Illyrians, cuirassiers, foreigners, light-armed troops, and some † Tarentine horse, were at the left, with Philopœmen at their head.

The time for beginning the battie approaching, and the enemy in view, that general, flying up and down the ranks of the infantry, encouraged his men in few, but very strong expressions. Most of them were even not heard; but he was so dear to his soldiers, and they reposed such confidence in him, that they wanted no exhortations to fight with incredible ardour. In a kind of transport they animated their general, and pressed him to lead them on to battle. All he endeavoured to make them understand was, that the time was come in which their enemies would be reduced to an ignominious captivity, and themselves restored to a glorious and immortal liberty.

Machanidas marched his infantry in a kind of column, as if he intended to begin the battle by charging the right wing. But when he was advanced to a proper distance, he on a sudden made his infantry wheel about, in order that it might extend to his right, and make a front equal to the left of the Achæans; and to cover it, he caused all the chariots loaded

* Engines to discharge darts or stones, &c.

† The Tarentine horsemen had each two horses. Liv. l. 35. n. 23.

with catapultæ to advance forward. Philopœmen plainly saw that his design was to break his infantry, by overwhelming it with darts and stones. However, he did not give him time for it, but caused the Tarentine horse to begin the battle with great vigour, on a spot where they had room enough to engage in. Machanidas was forced to do the same, and to lead on his Tarentines. The first charge was very furious. The light-armed soldiers advancing a little after to sustain them, in a moment the foreign troops were universally engaged on both sides; and, as in this attack they fought man to man, the battle was a long time doubtful. At last, the foreigners in the tyrant's army had the advantage; their numbers and dexterity acquired by experience giving them the superiority. The Illyrians and cuirassiers who sustained the foreign soldiers in Philopœmen's army, could not withstand so furious a charge. They were entirely broke, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards the city of Mantinea, about a mile from the field of battle.

Philopœmen seemed now lost to all hopes. On this occasion, says Polybius, appeared the truth of a maxim, which cannot reasonably be contested. That the events of war are generally successful or unfortunate, only in proportion to the skill or ignorance of the generals who command in them. Philopœmen, so far from desponding at the ill success of the first charge, or being in confusion, was solely intent upon taking advantage of the errors which the enemy might commit. Accordingly they were guilty of a great one, which indeed is but too frequent on these occasions, and for that reason cannot be too strongly guarded against. Machanidas, after the left wing was routed, instead of improving that advantage, by charging in front that instant with his infantry the center of that of the enemies, and taking it at the same time in flank with his victorious wing, and thereby terminating the whole affair; suffers himself, like a young man, to be hurried away by the fire and impetuosity

tuosity of his soldiers, and pursues, without order or discipline, those who were flying; as if, after having given way, fear would not have carried them to the gates of the city.

Philopœmen, who upon this defeat had retired to his infantry in the center, takes the first cohorts, commands them to wheel to the left, and at their head marches and seizes the post which Machanidas had abandoned. By this movement he divided the center of the enemy's infantry from his right wing. He then commanded these cohorts to stay in the post they had just seized, till farther orders; and at the same time directed * Polybius the Megalopolitan to rally all the Illyrians, cuirassiers and foreigners, who, without quitting their ranks and flying as the rest had done, had drawn off to avoid the fury of the conqueror; and, with these forces, to post himself on the flank of the infantry in his center, to check the enemy in their return from the pursuit.

But now the Lacedæmonian infantry, elate with the first success of their wing, without waiting for the signal, advance with their pikes lowered towards the Achæans, as far as the brink of the ditch. When they came up to it, whether from being so near the enemy, they were ashamed not to go on, or that they did not value the ditch because it was dry and had no hedge; and besides, being no longer able to retire, because the advanced ranks were pushed forward by those in the rear, they rushed into the ditch at once. This was the decisive point of time which Philopœmen had long waited, and thereupon he orders the charge to be sounded. His troops levelling their pikes fell with dreadful shouts on the Lacedæmonians. These, who at their descending into the ditch, had broke their

* The late translator of Polybius, mistakes this officer for our historian, and here introduces him speaking; which is otherwise in the original. Polybius the historian

was not born at that time. It is true indeed that this person had the same name, and was a native of the same city, which makes the error more excusable.

ranks, no sooner saw the enemy above them, but they immediately fled ; nevertheless, great numbers of them were left in the ditch, having been killed either by the Achæans, or their own soldiers.

To compleat the glory of this action, the business now was to prevent the tyrant from escaping the conqueror. This was Philopœmen's only object. Machanidas, on his return, perceived that his army fled ; when being sensible of his error, he endeavoured, but in vain, to force his way through the Achæans. His troops, perceiving that the enemy were masters of the bridge which lay over the ditch, were quite dispirited ; and endeavoured to save themselves as well as they could. Machanidas himself, finding it impossible to pass the bridge, hurried along the side of the ditch, in order to find a place for getting over it. Philopœmen knew him by his purple mantle, and the trappings of his horse : so that, after giving the necessary orders to his officers, he passed the ditch, in order to stop the tyrant. The latter having found a part of the ditch which might easily be crossed, claps spurs to his horse, and springs forward in order to leap over. That very instant Philopœmen threw his javelin at him, which laid him dead in the ditch. The tyrant's head being struck off, and carried from rank to rank, gave new courage to the victorious Achæans. They pursued the fugitives with incredible ardor as far as Tegea ; entered the city with them ; and being now masters of the field, the very next day they encamped on the banks of the Eurotas.

The Achæans did not lose many men in this battle, but the Lacedæmonians lost four thousand, without including the prisoners, who were still more numerous. The baggage and arms were also taken by the Achæans.

The conquerors, struck with admiration at the conduct of their general, to whom the victory was entirely owing, erected a brazen statue to him in the same attitude in which he had killed the tyrant ; which statue

tue they afterwards placed in the temple of Apollo at Delphos.

Polybius justly observes, that this signal victory must not be ascribed either to chance or a concurrence of circumstances, but entirely to the abilities of the general, who had foreseen and disposed all things necessary for this great event, And indeed, from the beginning (it is Polybius who still speaks, and continues his reflexions) Philopœmen had covered himself with the ditch; not to avoid coming to a battle, as some have imagined; but because, like a judicious man and a great soldier, he had reflected, that should Machanidas attempt to make his army pass the ditch, before he was aware of it, his troops would certainly be cut to pieces and entirely defeated; or if, being stoppt by the ditch, he should change his resolution, and break his order of battle thro' fear, that he would be thought the most unskilful of generals, in abandoning his victory to the enemy without daring to come to a battle; and in carrying off no other marks of his enterprize, than the ignominy of having renounced it. Polybius also highly applauds the presence of mind and resolution of Philopœmen, in his not desponding or losing courage when his left wing was routed; but in having made that very defeat an occasion of his gaining a glorious victory.

Methinks these small battles, where there are not many combatants on either side; and in which, by that means, one may follow as it were with the eye, the several steps of the commanding officers; observe the several orders they give, the precautions they take, and the errors they commit; that these, I say, may be of great service to those who are one day to command armies; and this is one of the chief advantages from the study of history.

(a) It is related that in the assembly of the Nemæan games, which were solemnized the year after this famous battle of Mantinea, Philopœmen being elected

(a, A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205.

general

general of the Achæans a second time, and having then no employment for his forces, upon account of the festival; he caused his phalanx, very splendidly cloathed, to pass in review before all the Greeks; and made them perform their usual exercises, to show with what dexterity, strength and agility they performed the several military movements, without breaking or disordering their ranks in the least. He afterwards went into the theatre in which the musicians were disputing for the prize in their art, accompanied by those youths in their coats of arms, all of a graceful stature, and in the flower of their age; all filled with the highest veneration for their general, and fired at the same time with a martial intrepidity; sentiments with which their glorious battles and success under this illustrious general had inspired them.

The very instant that flourishing troop of youths entered with Philopœmen, Pylades the musician, who was singing to his lyre the *Persians* of * Timotheus, happened accidentally to repeat the following verse,

*The wreaths of liberty to me you owe,
The brightest crown the gods bestow.*

These lofty verses, being finely expressed by the singer, who had an exquisite voice, struck the whole assembly. At the same time all the Greeks cast their eyes upon Philopœmen; and clapping their hands, and raising shouts of joy, they called to mind the glorious ages of triumphant Greece; soothing themselves with the pleasing hopes, that they should revive those antient times, and their pristine glory; so greatly did a general, like Philopœmen, increase their confidence, and inflame their courage.

And indeed, says Plutarch, as we find young colts are always fond of those they are used to; and that, in case any other person attempts to mount them, they

* This was a dithyrambic poet, One of his pieces was entitled the
who lived about the XCVth Olympiad, i. e. 298 years before Christ. Persians.

are displeased, and prounce about with their new rider : the same disposition appeared in the Achæan league. The instant they were to embark in a new war, and a battle was to be fought ; if any other general was appointed, immediately the deputies of the confederate powers would be discouraged, and turn their eyes in quest of Philopœmen ; and the moment he appeared the whole league revived and were ready for action ; so strongly were they persuaded of his great valour and abilities ; well knowing that he was the only general whose presence the enemy dreaded, and whose name alone made them tremble.

Can there, humanly speaking, be a more pleasing, more affecting, or more solid glory for a general or a prince, than to see himself esteemed, beloved and revered by the army and people in the manner Philopœmen was ? Is it possible for any man to be so tasteless and void of sense, as to prefer, or even compare, to the honour which the exalted qualities of Philopœmen ; acquired him the pretended glory which so many persons of quality imagine they derive, from their equipages, buildings, furniture, and the ridiculous expence of their tables. Philopœmen affected magnificence more than they do, but then he placed it in what it really consists. The cloathing his troops splendidly, providing them good horses and shining arms ; supplying with a generous hand all their wants both public and private ; distributing money seasonably to encourage the officers and even private men : in acting thus Philopœmen, though dressed in a very plain habit, was looked upon as the greatest and most magnificent general of his time.

Sparta did not recover its antient liberty by the death of Machanidas, the only consequence of which was its changing one oppressor for another. The tyrant had been extirpated, but not the tyranny. That unhappy city, formerly so jealous of its liberty and independance, and now abandoned to slavery, seemed by its indolence studious of nothing but to make itself

new

new chains, or to support its old ones. Machanidas was succeeded by Nabis, who, though a worse tyrant, yet the Spartans did not show the least spirit, or make the least effort to shake off the yoke of slavery.

(b) Nabis, in the beginning of his government, was not desirous to undertake any foreign expedition; but employed his whole endeavours to lay the solid foundations of a lasting and cruel tyranny. For that purpose, he made it his particular care to destroy all the remaining Spartans in that republic. He banished from it all such as were most distinguished for their quality and wealth, and gave their estates and wives to his creatures. We shall speak of these persons hereafter under the name of the *Exiles*. He had taken into his pay a great number of foreigners, all plunderers and assassins, and capable of perpetrating the blackest crimes for gain. This kind of people, who had been banished their country for their crimes, flocked round the tyrant, who lived in the midst of them as their protector and king; employing them as his attendants and guards, to strengthen his tyranny, and confirm his power. He was not satisfied with banishing the citizens, he acted in such a manner, that they could not find any secure asylum even in foreign countries. Some were butchered in their journey by his emissaries; and he recalled others from banishment, with no other view but to murder them.

Besides these barbarities, he invented a machine which may be called an infernal one, representing a woman magnificently dressed, and exactly resembling his wife. Every time that he sent for any person, to extort money from him, he would first declare, in the kindest and most gentle terms, the danger to which the whole country, and Sparta in particular, was exposed by the menaces of the Achæans; the number of foreigners he was obliged to keep in pay for the security of his government, the great sums he expended for the worship of the gods, and for the good of the

(b) Polyb. l. 13. p. 674,—675.

public. In case the person spoke to was wrought upon by his words, he proceeded no farther, this being all he wanted. But, if he was refractory, and refused to give him money, he would say, "Probably the talent of persuasion is not mine; but I hope that Apega will have some effect upon you." This Apega was his wife. He no sooner had uttered these words, but his machine appeared. Nabis, taking her by the hand, raised her from her chair, and led her to his man. The hands, the arms and breast of this machine were stuck with sharp iron points, concealed under her clothes. The pretended Apega embraced the unhappy wretch, folded him in her arms; and laying hers round his waste, clasped him to her bosom, whilst he vented the most lamentable cries. The machine was made to perform these several motions by secret springs. In this manner did the tyrant put many to death, from whom he could not otherwise extort the sums he demanded.

Would one believe that a man could be so completely wicked, as to contrive in cold blood such a machine, merely to torture his fellow-creatures; and to feed his eyes and ears with the cruel pleasure of seeing their agonies, and hearing their groans? It is astonishing that in such a city as Sparta, where tyranny was had in the utmost detestation, where men thought it glorious to confront death; where religion and the laws, so far from restraining men as among us, seemed to arm them against all who were enemies to liberty; it is astonishing, I say, that so horrid a monster should be suffered to live one day.

(c) I have already observed that the Romans, employed in a more important war, had intermeddled very little with the affairs of Greece. The Ætolians, finding themselves neglected by that powerful people, who were their only refuge, made a peace with Philip. Scarce was the treaty concluded, but P. Sempronius the proconsul arrived with considerable aids; ten thousand foot, a thousand horse, and thirty-five ships of

(c) A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Liv. l. 29. n. 12.

war.

war. He was very much offended at them for making this peace, without having first obtained the consent of the Romans, contrary to the express words of the treaty of alliance. The Epirots also, tired with the length of the war, sent deputies, (with the proconsul's leave) to Philip, who now was returned to Macedonia, to exhort him to agree to a general peace; hinting to him, that they were almost sure, if he consented to have an interview with Sempronius, they would easily agree upon the conditions. The king was greatly pleased with these overtures, and went to Epirus. As both parties were desirous of peace; Philip, that he might have leisure to settle the affairs of his kingdom, and the Romans, that they might be able to carry on the war against Carthage with greater vigour; a treaty was soon concluded. The king caused Prusias king of Bithynia, the Achæans, Bœotians, Thessalians, Acarnanians and Epirots to be included in it: and the Romans included in the people of Ilium, king Attalus, Pleuratus; Nabis the Spartan tyrant, successor to Machanidas; the people of Elis, the Messenians and the Athenians. In this manner the war of the confederates terminated in a peace of no long continuance.

SECT. VIII. *The glorious expeditions of Antiochus into Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, and as far as India. At his return to Antioch, he receives advice of Ptolemy Philopator's death.*

THE history of the wars in Greece, obliged us to interrupt the relation of the transactions in Asia; and therefore we now return to them.

(d) Antiochus, after the death of Achæus, having employed some time in settling his affairs in Asia Minor, marched towards the east, to reduce those provinces which had revolted from the empire of Syria. He began by Media, of which the Parthians had just before dispossessed him. Arsaces, son to him who

(d) A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212. Polyb. l. 10. p. 597—602.

founded

founded that empire, was their king. He had taken advantage of the troubles in which the wars of Antiochus with Ptolemy and Achæus had involved him, and had conquered Media.

This country, says Polybius, is the most powerful in all Asia, as well for its extent, as for the number and strength of the men, and the great quantity of horses it produces. Media furnishes all Asia with those beasts; and its pastures are so good, that the neighbouring monarchs send their studs thither. Ec-batana is its capital city. The edifices of this city are the finest in the world, and the king's palace is seven hundred fathoms round. Though all the timber-work is of cedar and cyprus, yet not the least piece of timber was visible; the joists, the beams, the ceilings, and columns, which sustained the porticoes and piazzas being covered with silver or gold plates. All the tiles were of silver. The greatest part of these rich materials had been carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great; and the rest plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. Nevertheless, when Antiochus entered this kingdom, the temple of Æna was still surrounded with gilt columns; and the soldiers found in it a great number of silver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of silver. All this was converted into specie, and stamped with Antiochus's image; the whole amounting to four thousand talents, or about six hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Arfaces expected that Antiochus would advance as far as this temple; but he never imagined that he would venture to cross, with his numerous army, a country so barren as that which lies near it; and especially as no water can be found in those parts, none appearing on the surface of the earth. There are indeed rivulets and springs under ground, but no one, except those who know the country, can find them. On this occasion, a true story is related by the inhabitants of the country, that the Persians, when they conquered Asia, gave to those who should raise water
in

in places where none had been before, the profits arising from such places, to the fifth generation inclusively. The inhabitants, animated by these promises, spared neither labour or expence to convey water under ground from mount Taurus, whence a great quantity flows, as far as these deserts; insomuch that at this time, says Polybius, those who make use of these waters, do not know from what springs the subterraneous rivulets flow that supply them with it.

It were to be wished that Polybius, who generally is diffusive enough, had been more prolix here, and explained to us in what manner these subterraneous canals (for such were the wells here spoken of) were built; and the methods employed by Arsaces to stop them. From the account he gives of the prodigious labour employed, and the vast sums expended to complete this work, we may suppose that water had been conveyed into every part of this vast desert, by stone aqueducts built under ground, with openings at proper distances, that Polybius calls wells.

(e) When Arsaces saw that Antiochus crossed the deserts, in spite of the difficulties which he imagined would stop his march, he gave orders for stopping up the wells. But Antiochus, having foreseen this, sent a detachment of horse, which posted itself near these wells, and beat the party that came to stop them. The army passed the deserts, entered Media, drove Arsaces out of it, and recovered all that province. Antiochus stayed there the rest of the year, in order to re-establish his affairs, and to make the preparations necessary for carrying on the war.

(f) The year following he entered very early into Parthia, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in Media: Arsaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he imagined that in securing some passes of the mountains which separate it from Par-

(e) A. M. 3793. Ant. J. C. 211.
Ant. J. C. 210.

(f) A. M. 3794.

this, it would be impossible for the Syrian army to approach him.

(g) However, he was mistaken: for, as soon as the season would permit, Antiochus took the field; and after incredible difficulties, attacked all those posts at the same time with his whole army, which he divided into as many bodies as there were attacks, and soon forced them all. He afterwards assembled them in the plains, and marched to besiege Seringis, which was the capital of Hyrcania. Having besieged it for some time, he at last made a great breach, and took the city by storm, upon which the inhabitants surrendered at discretion.

(h) In the mean time Arsaces was very busy. As he retired, he reassembled troops, which at last formed an army of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse. He then took the field against the enemy, and put a stop to their progress with the utmost bravery. His resistance protracted the war, which seemed almost at an end. After many engagements, Antiochus perceiving he gained no advantage, judged that it would be extremely difficult to reduce so valiant an enemy; and drive him entirely out of the provinces, where by length of time he had so strongly established himself. For this reason, he began to listen to the overtures which were made him, for terminating so tedious a war.

(i) At last a treaty was concluded, in which it was stipulated, that Arsaces should continue in possession of Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist Antiochus, in recovering the rest of the revolted provinces.

(k) Antiochus, after this peace, turned his arms against Euthydemus king of Bactria. We have already shown, in what manner Theodotus had disunited Bactria from the empire of Syria, and left it to his son

(g) A. M. 3795. Ant. J. C. 209.

c. 5. (i) A. M. 3796. Ant. J. C. 208.

3797. Ant. J. C. 207.

(h) Justin. l. 41.

(k) A. M.

of the same name with himself. This son had been defeated and dispossessed by Euthydemus, a brave and prudent man, who engaged in a long war against Antiochus. (l) The latter used his utmost endeavours to recover Bactria; but they all were rendered ineffectual by the valour and vigilance of Euthydemus. During the course of this war, Antiochus displayed his bravery in the most extraordinary manner. In one of these battles his horse was killed under him, and he himself received a wound in the mouth, which however was not dangerous, being attended with only the loss of some of his teeth.

At last he grew weary of a war, when he plainly perceived that it would be impossible for him to dethrone this prince. He therefore gave audience to Euthydemus's ambassadors, who represented to him, that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just; that he had never been his subject, and consequently that he ought not to avenge himself on their king, because others had rebelled against him; that Bactria had thrown off the yoke of the Syrian empire under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed this kingdom by right of conquest over the descendants of those chiefs of the rebellion, and preserved it as the reward of a just victory. They also insinuated to him that the Scythians, observing both parties had weakened themselves by this war, were preparing to invade Bactria with great fury; and that should they persist obstinately in disputing it, those Barbarians might very possibly dispossess both of it. (m) This reflexion made an impression on Antiochus, who, by this time, was grown quite weary of so unprofitable and tedious a war; and for this reason he granted them such conditions as ended in a peace. To confirm and ratify it, Euthydemus sent his son to Antiochus. He gave him a gracious reception; and judging, by his agreeable mien, his conversation, and the air of ma-

(l) Polyb. l. 10. p. 620, 621. & l. 11. p. 651, 652.

(m) A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

jestly conspicuous in his whole person, that he was worthy of a throne, he promised him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other articles of the treaty were put into writing, and the alliance was confirmed by the usual oaths.

Having received all Euthydemus's elephants, which was one of the articles of peace, he passed mount Caucasus, and entered India, and then renewed his alliance with the king of that country. He also received elephants from him, which, with those Euthydemus had given him, amounted to an hundred and fifty. He marched from thence into Arachosia, afterwards into Drangiana, thence into Carmania; establishing his authority and good order in all those provinces.

(n) He passed the winter in the last country. From thence he returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia; and at last arrived at Antioch, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The vigor of his enterprizes, and the prudence with which he had conducted the whole war, acquired him the character of a wise and valiant prince, and made him formidable to Europe as well as Asia.

(o) A little after his arrival at Antioch, advice was brought him of the death of Ptolemy Philopator. That prince, by his intemperance and excesses, had quite ruined his constitution, which was naturally strong and vigorous. He died, as generally happens to those who abandon themselves to pleasure, before he had run half his course. He was scarce above twenty years old when he ascended the throne, and reigned but seventeen years. He was succeeded by Ptolemy Epiphanes his son, then five years old.

(n) A. M. 3799. Ant. J. C. 205.
Ant. J. C. 204.

(o) A. M. 3800.

BOOK THE EIGHTEENTH.

SEQUEL of the
HISTORY
 OF
 Alexander's Successors.

ARTICLE I.

THIS first article includes twenty-four years, during which Ptolemy Epiphanes reigned in Egypt. In this interval, the Romans engage in war; first against Philip king of Macedon, over whom they gain a famous victory; and then against Antiochus king of Syria, who also is defeated, and forced to sue for peace. At the same time, feuds and divisions break out between the Lacedæmonians and the Achæans, and the famous Philopœmen dies.

SECT. I. Ptolemy Epiphanes succeeds Philopator his father in the kingdom of Egypt. Antiochus and Philip enter into an alliance to invade his dominions. The Romans become guardians of the young king. Antiochus subdues Palestine and Cœlosyria. The war of Philip against the Athenians, Attalus, and the Rhodians. He besieges Abydos. The unhappy fate of that city. The Romans declare war against Philip. Sulpitius the consul is sent into Macedonia.

(p) I Related in the preceding book, how Ptolemy Philopator, worn out with riots and excesses, had come to his end, after having reigned seventeen years. As the only persons present when that monarch expired were Agathocles, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed his death as long as possible from the public; in order that they might have time to carry off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They also formed a plan to maintain the authority they had enjoyed under the late king, by usurping the regency during the minority of his son, named Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five years old. They imagined this might be easily done, if they could but take off Tlepolemus, who had succeeded Sosibes in the ministry; and accordingly they concerted measures to dispatch him.

At last they informed the public of the king's death. Immediately a great council of the * Macedonians was assembled, on which Agathocles and Agathoclea were present. Agathocles, after shedding abundance of tears, begins by imploring their protection for the young king, whom he held in his arms. He told them that his royal father, in his expiring moments, had committed him to the care of Agathoclea, whom he pointed out to them; and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians. That for this reason he was come to implore their assistance against Tlepolemus, who, as he had certain advice, had formed the design of usurping the crown. He added, that he had brought witnesses expressly to prove his treason, and at the same time offered to produce them. He imagined that by this weak artifice, Tlepolemus would be immediately dispatched, and that in conse-

(p) A. M. 3800. Ant. J. C. 204. Justin. l. 30. c. 2. Polyb. l. 15. p. 712—720.

* Polybius gives this name to the Alexandrians who descended from the Macedonians, and the posterity of the founders of Alexandria, or of those to whom the same privileges had been granted.

quence he might easily obtain the regency; but the artifice was too gross, and the people immediately swore the destruction of Agathocles, his sister, and all their creatures. This last attempt recalling to their remembrance their other crimes, all the inhabitants of Alexandria rose against them. The young king was taken out of their hands, and seated on the throne in Hippodrome. After which Agathocles, his sister, and Cæinanthè his mother, were brought before the king, and all three put to death as by his order. The populace exposed their dead bodies to all the indignities possible; dragging them through the streets, and tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the same treatment, and not one of them was spared. The usual and just end of those unworthy favourites, who abuse the confidence of their sovereign to oppress the people, and who never punish those who resemble themselves.

Philammon, the assassin, who had been hired to murder Arsinoë, being returned from Cyrene to Alexandria, two or three days before this tumult broke out; the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had immediate notice of it; and taking this opportunity which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge their mistress's death. Accordingly they broke open the door of the house where he was, and killed him with clubs and stones.

The care of the king's person, till otherwise provided for, was given to Sosibes, son to him who had governed during the three last reigns. History does not inform us whether he was still alive: but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he had passed above threescore years in the administration. (q) No minister was ever more cunning or more corrupt than this Sosibes. He made no scruple of committing the blackest crimes, provided they conduced to his ends. Polybius imputes to him the murder of Lyfimachus, son of Ptolemy, and of Arsinoë daughter of that Ly-

(q) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 64.

simachus ; of Magas son of Ptolemy, and of Berenice daughter of Magas ; of Berenice mother to Ptolemy Philopator ; of Cleomenes, king of Sparta ; and lastly, of Arsinoë daughter of Berenice. It is surprizing that, notwithstanding a conduct of so much inhumanity and cruelty in his administration, he should support himself so long, and at last come to a peaceable end.

(r) Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedonia, during the whole reign of Ptolemy Philopator, had discovered the strongest zeal for the interest of that monarch, and were ready to assist him on all occasions. Yet, no sooner was he dead, leaving behind him an infant, whom the laws of humanity and justice enjoined them not to disturb in the possession of his father's kingdom, but they immediately join in a criminal alliance ; and excite each other to take off the lawful heir, and divide his dominions between them. Philip was to have Caria, Lybia, Cyrenaica, and Egypt ; and Antiochus all the rest. With this view, the latter entered Cœlosyria and Palestine ; and, in less than two campaigns, made an entire conquest of those two provinces with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt, says Polybius, would not have been quite so glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloss over their crimes with some specious pretence ; but so far from doing this, their injustice and cruelty were so barefaced, that to them was applied what is generally said of fishes ; that the large ones, though of the same species, prey on the lesser. One would be tempted, continues the same author, at seeing the most sacred laws of society so openly violated, to accuse providence of being indifferent and insensible to the most horrid crimes. But it fully justified its conduct, by punishing those two kings according to their deserts ; and made such an example of them, as ought in all succeeding ages to deter others from following

(r) A. M. 3801. Ant. J. C. 203. Polyb. l. 3. p. 159. Id. l. 15. p. 707, & 708.

their example. For, whilst they are meditating to dispossess a weak and helpless infant of his kingdom, by piece-meal; providence raised up the Romans against them, who entirely subverted the kingdoms of Philip and Antiochus; and reduced their successors to almost as great calamities, as those with which they intended to crush the infant king.

(s) During that time, Philip was engaged in a war against the Rhodians, over whom he gained an inconsiderable advantage, in a naval engagement near the island of Lade, opposite to the city of Miletus.

(t) The next year he invaded Attalus, and advanced as far as Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. But all his efforts in assaulting that city being to no purpose, he turned his rage and fury against the gods; and not satisfied with burning their temples, he demolished statues, broke to pieces their altars, and even pulled up the stones from their foundations, that not the least footsteps of them might remain.

He was not more successful against the Rhodians. Having already fought them with but indifferent success, he ventured a second battle off the island of Chio. Attalus had united his fleet to that of the Rhodians, and Philip was defeated with considerable loss. There were killed, in his army, three thousand Macedonians, and six thousand allies; and two thousand Macedonians and confederates, with seven hundred Egyptians, were taken prisoners. The Rhodians lost but sixty men, and Attalus threescore and ten.

Philip ascribed all the glory of this engagement to himself, and that for two reasons: the first was, that having repulsed Attalus to the shore, he had taken that prince's ship; and the second, that having cast anchor near the promontory of Argennum, he had stopt even among the wrecks of his enemies. But though he assumed the best air he could, he was sen-

(s) Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 70. & 73.

(t) A. M. 3802. Ant. J. C. 202. Polyb. Ib. p. 66. Diod. Ib. p. 294.

sible of his great loss, and could neither conceal it from others, nor himself. This prince had never lost so great a number of men either by sea or land in one day. He was highly afflicted upon it, and it visibly damped his natural vivacity.

(u) Nevertheless, the ill success of this battle did not abate Philip's courage. The character of that prince was, to be unshaken in his resolutions; and not to be dejected by disappointments, but to overcome difficulties by inflexible constancy and perseverance; and accordingly he continued the war with fresh bravery. I am not certain whether we may not date about this time, the cruelties which Philip exercised over the Cians; a barbarity he is often reproached with, the particulars of which have unhappily been lost. Cios, whose inhabitants are called Cians, was a small city of Bithynia. The man who was governor of it, had been raised to that post by the Ætolians, who at that time were in alliance with Philip. We find that he besieged it, at the request of his son-in-law Prusias, king of Bithynia, who pretended to have received some insult from it. The city was in all probability taken by storm. A great number of the inhabitants suffered the most cruel torments; the rest were reduced to a state of captivity, which to them was worse than death, and the city was razed to the very foundations. This barbarity alienated the Ætolians from him, and particularly the Rhodians, who were allies and friends to the inhabitants of Cios. Polybius seems to ascribe its destruction to the imprudence of the Cians themselves, who used to bestow all posts and preferments on their most worthless citizens; and to follow so blindly their pernicious opinions in every thing, as even to persecute those who ventured to oppose them. He adds, that a people who act in this manner, plunge voluntarily into the greatest calamities; and that it is

(u) A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 201. Polyb. l. 16. p. 733—739. Liv. l. 31. n. 16, 18. Polyb. l. 17. p. 745. Liv. l. 31. n. 31. Strab. l. 12. p. 563. Polyb. l. 15. p. 709—711.

surprising, they do not correct themselves in this respect by the experience of all ages, which show, that the ruin of the most powerful states is solely owing to the ill choice of those to whom they confide either the command of their armies, or the administration of their political affairs.

Philip marched afterwards to Thrace and Chersonesus, where several cities surrendered voluntarily. However, Abydos shut her gates against him; and even refused to hear the deputies he had sent, so that he was forced to besiege it. This city is in Asia, and stands on the narrowest part of the Hellespont, now called the Dardanelles, and opposite to the city of Sestus in Europe. The distance between these two cities was but about two miles. The reader will suppose, that Abydos must be a city of great importance, as it commanded the straits; and made those who were possessed of it, masters of the communication between the Euxine Sea and the Archipelago.

Nothing of what is generally practised, in the assaulting and defending of cities, was omitted in this siege. No place was ever defended with greater obstinacy, which might be said at length, on the side of the besieged, to have rose to fury and brutality. Confiding in their own strength, they repulsed with the greatest vigour the first approaches of the Macedonians. On the side next the sea, the machines of war no sooner came forward, but they immediately were either dismounted by the balistæ, or consumed by fire. Even the ships, on which they were mounted, were in danger; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the besiegers saved them. On the land side, the Abydonians also defended themselves for some time with great courage, and did not despair even of defeating the enemy. But, finding the outward wall was sapped, and that the Macedonians carried their mines under the inward one, which had been raised to supply the place of the other; they sent deputies to Philip, offering to surrender their city upon the following conditions: That such forces

as had been sent them by the Rhodians and king Attalus, should return to their respective sovereigns under his safe-conduct; and that all free citizens should retire whithersoever they pleased, with the clothes they then had on. Philip answering, that the Abydonians had only to choose, whether they would surrender at discretion, or continue to defend themselves valiantly; the deputies retired.

This advice being brought, the besieged, in transports of despair, assemble together, and consider what was to be done. They came to this resolution; first, that the slaves should be set at liberty, to animate them to defend the city with the utmost vigour: secondly, that all the women should be shut up in the temple of Diana, and all the children with their nurses, in the Gymnasium: that this being done, they then should bring into the great square, all the gold and silver in the city; and carry all the rest of the valuable effects into the * Quadrirème of the Rhodians, and the Trireme of the Cizycenians. This resolution having passed unanimously, another assembly was called, in which they chose fifty of the wisest and most antient of the citizens, but at the same time had vigour enough left to execute what should have been determined; and they were made to take an oath in presence of all the inhabitants, that the instant they saw the enemy master of the inward wall, they should kill the women and children, set fire to the two gallies laden with their effects, and throw into the sea all their gold and silver which they had heaped together: then sending for their priests, they took an oath either to conquer or die, sword in hand: and after having sacrificed the victims, they obliged the priests and priestesses to pronounce before the altar, the greatest curses on those who should break their oath.

This being done, they left off countermining, and resolved, the instant the wall should fall, to fly to

* Quadrirèmes were gallies with four benches of oars, and Triremes these with three.

the breach, and fight to the last. Accordingly, the inward wall tumbling, the besieged, true to the oath they had taken, fought in the breach with such unparalleled bravery, that tho' Philip had perpetually sustained with fresh soldiers those who had mounted to the assault; yet, when night separated the combatants, he was still doubtful with regard to the success of the siege. Such Abydonians as marched first to the breach, over the heaps of the slain, fought with fury; and not only made use of their swords and javelins, but, after their arms were broke to pieces or forced out of their hands, they rushed furiously upon the Macedonians, knocked down some, broke the sarissæ or long spears of others; and, with the pieces, struck their faces and such parts of their bodies as were uncovered, till they made them entirely despair of the event.

When night had put an end to the slaughter, the breach was quite covered with the dead bodies of the Abydonians; and those who had escaped, were so prodigiously fatigued and had received so many wounds, that they could scarce support themselves. Things being brought to this dreadful extremity, two of the principal citizens, unable to execute the dreadful resolution that had been taken, and which at that time displayed itself to their imaginations in all its horror; agreed that, to save their wives and children, they should send to Philip by day-break, all their priests and priestesses, clothed in pontifical habits, to implore his mercy, and open their gates to him.

Accordingly next morning, the city, as had been agreed, was surrendered to Philip; during which the greatest part of the Abydonians who survived, vented millions of imprecations against their fellow-citizens; and especially against the priests and priestesses, for delivering up to the enemy those whom they themselves had devoted to death with the most dreadful oaths. Philip marched into the city, and seized, without the least opposition, all the rich effects which the Abydonians had heaped together in one place. But

now he was greatly terrified with the spectacle he saw. Among these ill-fated citizens, whom despair had made furious and distracted, some were strangling their wives and children, and others cutting them to pieces with their swords; some were running to murder them, others were plunging them into wells, whilst others again were precipitating them from the tops of houses; in a word, death appeared in all its variety of horrors. Philip, pierced with grief, and seized with horror at this spectacle, stopt the soldiers who were greedy of plunder; and published a declaration, importing, that he would allow three days to all who were resolved to lay violent hands on themselves. He was in hopes that during this interval, they would change their resolution; but they had made their choice before. They thought it would be degenerating from those who had lost their lives in fighting for their country, should they survive them. The individuals of every family killed one another, and none escaped this murderous expedition, but those whose hands were tied, or were otherwise kept from destroying themselves.

(x) A little before the city surrendered, an ambassador from the Romans to Philip arrived. This embassy was sent on various accounts, all which it will be proper to explain. The fame and glory of this people had just before spread through all parts of the world, by the victory which Scipio gained over Hannibal in Africa; an event that so gloriously (with regard to the Romans) terminated the second Punic war. (y) The court of Egypt, being in so much danger from the union that had been formed between Philip and Antiochus against their infant king, had addressed the Romans for protection; and offered them the guardianship of the king, and the regency of the kingdom, during his minority; declaring, that the late monarch

(x) A. M. 3803. Ant. J. C. 207. (y) Justin. l. 30.
c. 2. & 3. & l. 31. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. 6. c. 6. Liv. l. 31. n. 1,
2. & 18.

had desired it at his death. It was the interest of the Romans not to suffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increase, by the addition of so many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time consisted. It was not difficult to foresee, that they would soon be engaged in war with those two princes, with one of whom they already had some differences which threatened much greater. For these reasons they had not hesitated in accepting the guardianship; and in consequence had appointed three deputies, who were ordered to acquaint the two kings with their resolution, and to injoin them not to infest the dominions of their royal pupil, for that otherwise they should be forced to declare war against them. Every reader will perceive, that the declaring so generously in favour of an oppressed infant monarch, was making a just and noble use of their power.

At the same time there arrived in Rome ambassadors from the Rhodians and from king Attalus, to complain also of the enterprizes of the two kings; and to inform the Romans, that Philip, either in person or by his deputies, was soliciting several cities of Asia to take up arms, and was certainly meditating some great design. This was a fresh motive for hastening the departure of the three ambassadors.

Being arrived at Rhodes, and hearing of the siege of Abydos, they sent to Philip the youngest of their colleagues, named *Æmilius*, who, as has been observed, arrived at Abydos at the time that the city was upon the point of being surrendered. *Æmilius* acquainted Philip, that he was ordered in the name of the senate, to exhort him not to make war upon any of the states of Greece; not to invade any part of Ptolemy's dominions; but to refer to a just arbitration his pretensions upon Attalus and the Rhodians. That, provided he acquiesced with these remonstrances, he would continue in peace; but that if he refused, the Romans would proclaim war against him. Philip endeavoured to show, that the Rhodians had occasioned the

the rupture. But, says Æmilius, interrupting him, *did the Athenians and Abydonians attack you first?* Philip *, who had not been used to hear truth, offended at the boldness of such an answer addressed to a king; *Your age*, says he to the ambassador, *your beauty*, (for Polybius informs us that this ambassador had really a fine person) *and especially the Roman name exalt your pride to a prodigious degree.* For my part, *I wish your republic may observe punctually the treaties it has concluded with me: but, in case I should be invaded by it, I hope to show, that the empire of Macedonia does not yield to Rome either in valour or reputation.* The deputy withdrew from Abydos with this answer; and Philip having taken that city, left a strong garrison in it, and returned to Macedonia.

Æmilius seems to have gone into Egypt, whilst the two other ambassadors went very probably to Antiochus. Æmilius being arrived at Alexandria, assumed the guardianship of Ptolemy, in the name of the Romans, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the senate at his setting out; and settled every thing to as much advantage as the state of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Aristomenes the Acarnanian to superintend the education and person of the young monarch, and made him prime minister. This Aristomenes had grown old in the court of Egypt, and acted with the utmost prudence and fidelity in the employment conferred upon him.

(2) In the mean time the forces of Philip laid Attica waste, the pretence of which invasion was as follows: Two young men of Acarnania being in Athens, at

(2) Liv. l. 31. n. 14.

* Insueto vera audire, ferocior oratio visa est, quàm quæ habenda apud regem esset. *Ætas*, inquit, & *forma*, & *super omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit.* Ego autem primum velim vos fœderum

memores servare mecum pacem. Si bello lacefferitis, mibi quoque in animo est facere, ut regnum Macedonum nomenque haud minus quàm Romanum nobile bello sentiat. Liv. l. 31. n. 18.

the time when the grand mysteries were solemnizing there, had crowded into the temple of Ceres, not knowing that it was forbid. Though their fault proceeded entirely from ignorance, they were immediately massacred, as guilty of impiety and sacrilege. The Acarnanians, justly exasperated at so cruel a treatment, had recourse to Philip, who gladly embraced this opportunity, and gave them a body of forces with which they entered Attica, ravaged the whole country, and returned home laden with spoils.

(a) The Athenians carried their complaints against this enterprize to Rome, and were joined on that occasion by the Rhodians and king Attalus. The Romans only fought for an opportunity to break with king Philip, at whom they were very much offended. He had infringed the condition of the treaty of peace concluded with him three years before, in not ceasing to infest the allies who were included in it. He had just before sent troops and money to Hannibal in Africa; and a report was spread, that he was at that time very busy in Asia. This made the Romans uneasy, who called to mind the trouble which Pyrrhus had brought upon him, with only a handful of Epirots, a people very much inferior to the Macedonians. Thus, having ended the war against Carthage, they imagined it adviseable to prevent the enterprizes of this new enemy, who might become formidable, in case they should give him time to increase his strength. The senate, after making such an answer as pleased all the ambassadors, ordered M. Valerius Levinus the prætor to advance towards Macedonia with a fleet, in order to examine matters nearer at hand, and be in a condition to give immediate aid to the allies.

(b) In the mean time the Roman senate deliberated seriously on what was to be done in the present juncture. At the very time it assembled to consider that important affair, a second embassy arrived from the Athenians, which brought advice that Philip was up-

(a) Liv. l. 31. n. 1—3.

(b) Ibid. n. 5.

on the point of invading Attica in person ; and that in case they were not immediately succoured, he would infallibly make himself master of Athens. They also received letters from Levinus the proprætor and from Aurelius his lieutenant, by which they were informed that they had the strongest reasons to believe that Philip had some design against them ; and that the danger being imminent, they had no time to lose.

(b) Upon this news, the Romans resolved to proclaim war against Philip. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius the consul, to whom Macedonia had fallen by lot, put to sea with an army, and soon arrived there. Here he was soon informed by an embassy that Athens was besieged, and implored his assistance. He detached a squadron of twenty gallies, commanded by Claudius Cento, who set sail that instant. Philip had not laid siege to Athens in person, but deputed one of his lieutenants for that purpose ; having taken the field in person against Attalus and the Rhodians.

SECT. II. *Expeditions of the consul Sulpitius in Macedonia. The Ætolians wait for the event, in order to declare themselves. Philip loses a battle. Villius succeeds Sulpitius. No considerable transaction happens during his government. Flaminius succeeds him. Antiochus recovers Cæloſyria, of which he had been dispossessed by Aristomenes the prime minister of Egypt. Various expeditions of the consul into Phocis. The Achæans, after long debates, declare for the Romans.*

(c) **C**laudius Cento, whom the consul had sent to succour Athens, having entered the Piræus with his gallies, revived the drooping courage of the inhabitants. He was not satisfied with securing the city and the country round it ; but having advice that the garrison of Chalcis did not observe the least order or discipline, as remote from danger, he sailed out with his fleet, arrived near the city before day ; and finding the centi-

(b) A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. 31. n. 14.

(c) A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200. Liv. l. 31. n. 22—26.

nels asleep, entered it without molestation ; set fire to the public magazines which were full of corn, and to the arsenal that was well provided with machines of war ; cut the whole garrison to pieces ; and after carrying on board his ships the immense booty he had amassed, he returned to the Piræus.

Philip, who was then at Demetrias, the instant he heard of the disaster which had befallen that confederate city, flew thither in hopes of surprizing the Romans. However, they were gone ; so that he seemed to have come for no other purpose, but to be spectator of that city, still burning and half ruined. He would certainly have treated Athens in the same manner, if one of the couriers called Hemerodromi *, who perceived the king's troops from the eminence where he was posted, had not carried the news of it immediately to Athens, where the inhabitants were all asleep. Philip arrived a few hours after, but before day-break. Perceiving that his stratagem had not taken effect, he resolved to attack the city. The Athenians had drawn up their soldiers in battle without the walls, at the gate Dipylos ; Philip, marching at the head of his army, attacked them with vigour ; and having killed several of them with his own hand, repulsed them back into the city, whither he did not think it adviseable to pursue them. But he wreaked his vengeance on the country-seats, on the places for the public exercises, as the Lyceum, and especially on such temples as stood without the city ; setting fire to every thing, and ruining whatever came in his way, not sparing either the tombs or the most sacred places. He marched from hence with a view of surprizing Eleusis, where his project also proved abortive. He then proceeded towards Corinth, when hearing that the Achæans held their assembly at Argos, he went thither.

They were deliberating how to act in regard to Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, who had succeeded Machanidas, and infested the whole country with his in-

* They were so called from running a great number of miles in one day.
cursions.

cursions. Philip offered to charge himself entirely with that war, and his proposal was received with universal joy. However, he added a condition which abated it very much; that they should furnish him with as many troops as were necessary for garrisoning Cræa, Chalcis, and Corinth; and that they should not leave the places behind him without defence whilst he was fighting for them. They perceived that his design was, to draw out of Peloponnesus all the Achæan youth, in order to make himself master of it, and engage it in the war against the Romans. Cycladus, who presided in the assembly, eluded the proposal, by observing that it was not allowed by their laws, to debate on any subject but that for which the assembly had been summoned. They therefore broke up, after having resolved upon the war against Nabis; and the hopes of Philip were again defeated.

He made a second attempt upon Athens, which succeeded no better than the former, except that he completed the demolition of such temples, statues, and valuable works as remained in that country. After this expedition he retired into Bœotia.

(d) The consul, who was encamped between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, sent to Macedonia a considerable detachment under the command of Apustius the lieutenant, who laid waste the plains, and took several small cities. Philip, who was returned into Macedonia, carried on his military preparations with prodigious vigour.

The great object which both parties had in view was, to engage the Ætolians to their side. They were now going to hold their general assembly, to which Philip, the Romans, and Athenians, sent their ambassadors. He who was deputed by Philip spoke first. All he required was, that the Ætolians should observe strictly the conditions of peace which they had concluded three years before with Philip; having then experienced how useless their alliance with the Ro-

(d) Liv. l. 31. n. 27—32.

mans was to them. He instanced several cities, of which that people had possessed themselves, upon pretence of succouring them, as Syracuse, Tarentum, Capua; the last city especially, which was no longer Capua, but the grave of the Campanians, and the skeleton, as it were, of a city, having neither senate, inhabitants, or magistrates; more barbarously used by those who had left it to be inhabited in this condition, than if they had entirely destroyed it. "If foreigners, says he, who differ from us more by their language, their manners, and their laws, than by the wide distance of land and sea which separate us from them, should dispossess us of this country; it would be ridiculous in us to expect more human treatment from them than their neighbours have met with. Among us, who are of the same country, whether Ætolians, Acarnanians, or Macedonians, and who speak the same language, slight disputes may arise, with little or no consequence or duration; but with foreigners, with Barbarians, we, whilst we are Greeks, are, and shall for ever be at war. This time three years you concluded a peace with Philip in this very place; now the same causes still subsist; and we hope that you will act in the same manner."

The Athenian ambassadors, by the consent of the Romans, spoke next. They began by displaying, in an affecting manner, the impious and sacrilegious fury which Philip had exercised on the most sacred monuments of Attica, on the most august temples, and the most awful tombs; as if he had declared war, not only against men, and the living, but against the manes of the dead, and the majesty of the gods. That Ætolia and all Greece must expect the same treatment, if Philip should have the like occasion. They concluded with conjuring the Ætolians to take compassion of Athens; and to undertake, under the auspices of the gods, and of the Romans, whose power

power only that of the gods could equal, so just a war as that proposed to them.

The Roman ambassador, after having refuted very circumstantially the reproaches of the Macedonian, with respect to the treatment which Rome had made the conquered cities suffer; and exemplified in Carthage, which, but just before, had been allowed a peace, and was restored to its liberty, declared, that the only circumstance the Romans had to fear was, that the too great mildness and lenity which they exercised towards those they conquered, would prompt other nations to take up arms against them, because the vanquished might depend on the Roman clemency. He represented in a short, but strong and pathetic speech, the criminal actions of Philip, the murders committed by him on his own family, and his friends, his infamous debaucheries, which were still more detested than his cruelty; all facts more immediately known to the persons whom he then addressed, as they were nearer neighbours to Macedonia. "But, to confine my speech to what relates directly to you," says the ambassador, addressing himself to the Ætolians, "we engaged in the war against Philip, in no other view but to defend you; and you have concluded a separate peace with him. Possibly you may observe in your own justification, that seeing us employed in the war against the Carthaginians, and being awed by fear, you were obliged to submit to whatever conditions the victor was pleased to prescribe; whilst we, on the other side, employed in affairs of greater importance, neglected a war which you had renounced. However, having now put an end (thanks to the gods) to the Carthaginian war, we are going to turn the whole force of our arms against Macedonia. This gives you an opportunity of returning to our friendship and alliance, unless you should chuse to perish ingloriously with Philip, rather than conquer with the Romans."

Damocritus,

Damocritus, the Ætolian prætor, plainly perceived that this speech would gain all the voices. It is said, that he had been bribed by Philip. Without seeming inclined to either side, he represented the affair as too important to be determined immediately, and required time for a more mature deliberation. By this artifice he eluded the effect which the assembly would otherwise have had; and boasted his having done a very essential service to the republic, which now (he said) might wait the event before it took up arms, and then declare for the strongest party.

(e) In the mean time, Philip was preparing for a vigorous war both by sea and land; but the consul had already begun it. He had entered Macedonia, and advanced towards the Dassaretæ, and Philip had also taken the field. Neither party knew which way the enemy had marched; but each sent out a detachment upon the discovery, and the two parties met. As both consisted entirely of chosen troops, a bloody skirmish ensued, and the victory was doubtful. Forty Macedonian troopers, and thirty-five of the Romans, were killed on the spot.

The king, persuaded that the care he should take to bury those who had lost their lives in this skirmish, would contribute very much to gain him the affection of his soldiers, and excite them to behave gallantly in his service; caused their dead bodies to be brought into the camp, in order that the whole army might be eye-witnesses of the honours paid to their memory. * Nothing is less to be relied upon than the sentiments and dispositions of the vulgar. This spectacle, which Philip imagined would animate the soldiers, had a quite contrary effect, and damped their courage. Hitherto he had engaged in war with none but Greeks and Illyrians, who employed scarce any other weapons but

(e) Liv. l. 31. n. 33—39.

* Nihil tam incertum nec tam inestimabile est, quam animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad

subeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur facturum, id metum pigritiamque incussit. Liv.

ARROWS

arrows, javelins and lances ; and for that reason the wounds they made were not so deep. But when they saw the bodies of their comrades, covered with deep and wide gashes made by the Spanish sabres ; whole arms cut off, shoulders lopped way, and heads separated from the bodies, they were terrified at the sight, and plainly perceived against what kind of enemy they were to act.

The king himself, who had never seen the Romans engage in battle, was terrified at this sight. Being informed by some deserters of the place where the enemy had halted, he took guides and marched thither with his army, consisting of twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse ; and posted himself at a little above two hundred paces from their camp, near the city of Athacus, on an eminence which he fortified with good ditches and strong intrenchments. Surveying from the top of the hill the order and disposition of the Roman camp, he cried out, * that what he saw was not the camp of Barbarians.

The consul and the king were quiet for the first two days, each waiting till the other should make some movement. On the third day, Sulpitius came out of his camp, and drew up his troops in battle. Philip, being afraid of coming to a general battle, detached against the enemy a body consisting of but fifteen hundred men, the one half horse, and the other foot ; against whom the Romans opposed an equal number, who had the advantage, and put the other to flight. They avoided with no less prudence an ambuscade which the king had laid for them. These two advantages, the one gained by open force, and the other by stratagem, inflamed the courage of the Roman soldiers. The consul marched them back into the camp, and after allowing them a day's repose, he led them out, and offered the king battle, which he did not think proper to accept, and for that reason he lay close in his camp, in spite of all the insults and reproaches of Sul-

* The same words are ascribed to Pyrrhus.

pitius, who charged him with meanness of spirit and cowardice.

As foraging, where two armies lay so near one another, would be very dangerous, the consul drew off to about eight miles distance, and advanced towards a village called Otolophos, where the foragers dispersed themselves all over the neighbouring country in separate platoons. The king at first lay close in his intrenchments, as if afraid of venturing out; in order that the enemy, growing bolder on that account, might for that reason be less vigilant. This happened directly as Philip had foreseen. When he saw great numbers of them spread over the plains, he quitted his camp on a sudden with all his horse, whom the Cretans followed as fast as it was possible for infantry to march; and rode full speed to post himself between the Roman camp and the foragers. There, dividing his forces, he detached part of them against the foragers; ordering them to cut to pieces all who should come in their way; whilst he himself seized all the passes by which they could return. And now nothing was seen on all sides but blood and slaughter; during which, the Romans did not know what was doing out of their camp, because such as fled were intercepted by the king's forces; and those who guarded the passes killed a much greater number than the others detached in pursuit of the enemy.

At last the melancholy news of the slaughter arrived in the Roman camp. Upon which the consul ordered the cavalry to march out, and succour their comrades wherever they could: as for himself he made the legions quit the camp, and marched them in an hollow square against the enemy. The troopers, being dispersed up and down, lost their way at first; being deceived by the shouts and cries which echoed from different places. Many of these parties fell in with the enemy, and skirmishes were fought in different places at the same time. The warmest engagement was where the king himself commanded, and which,

by

by the great number of the horse and foot that composed it, formed almost an army: not to mention that these troops, being prodigiously animated by the presence of the king, and the Cretans, who fought close together and with the utmost vigour, against enemies dispersed and in disorder, killed great numbers of them. It is certain that, had they not pursued the Romans so vigorously, this day might have decided, not only the present battle, but perhaps the success of the whole war. But, by abandoning themselves to a rash and inconsiderate ardour, they fell into the midst of the Roman cohorts, who had advanced with their officers. And now the soldiers that fled perceiving the Roman ensigns, faced about, and pushed their horses against the enemy who were all in disorder. In an instant the face of the battle was quite changed; those who pursued before now flying in their turn. Many were killed in close fight, and many lost their lives in flying; numbers fell, not only by the sword, but several plunging into morasses, were swallowed up, with their horses, in the mire. The king himself was in very great danger; for having been thrown by his horse which had received a great wound, multitudes were going to attack him, had not a trooper leaped that moment from his horse, and mounted him on it: but the man himself, being unable to keep pace with the troopers who fled, was killed by the enemy. Philip, after having taken a long compass round the fens, came at last to the camp, where he had been given over for lost.

We have seen on many occasions, and it cannot be too strongly inculcated to those of the military profession in order to their avoiding the like error; that battles are often lost by the too great ardour of the officers, who, solely intent upon pursuing the enemy, forget and neglect what passes in the rest of the army; and suffer themselves to be deprived through an imprudent desire of glory, of a victory which they had in their hands, and might have secured.

How-

However, Philip had not lost a great number of men in this action, but dreaded coming to a second: and was afraid lest the conqueror should advance to attack him suddenly. He therefore dispatched a herald to the consul, to desire a suspension of arms, in order to bury the dead. The consul, who was at dinner, sent word that he should have an answer on the morrow. Upon this Philip, to conceal his march from the Romans, having left a great number of fires in his camp; set out from it, without noise, the instant it was dark; and having got a whole night's march before the consul, and part of the following day, he thereby put it out of his power to pursue him.

(f) Sulpitius began his march the next day, not knowing which way the king had taken. Philip had flattered himself with the hopes of intercepting him at some passes, the entrance of which he fortified with ditches, intrenchments, and great works of stones and trees; but the patience of the Romans was superior to all these difficulties. The consul, after laying waste the country, and seizing upon several fortresses, marched his army back to Apollonia, from whence he had set out in the beginning of the campaign.

The Ætolians, who only waited the event in order to take up arms, declared without the least hesitation for the Romans, and the Athemansians followed their example. Both people made some incursions into Macedonia, but with ill success, Philip having defeated them on several occasions. He also defeated the Dardanians, who had entered his country during his absence; and with these small advantages, consoled himself for his ill success against the Romans.

(g) In this campaign the Roman fleet, joined that of Attalus, came into the Piræus, to the great joy of the Athenians. The hatred they bore to Philip, which fear had forced them to dissemble for a long time, now broke out immoderately, at the sight of so powerful

(f) Liv. l. 31. n. 39—43.

(g) Liv. l. 31. n. 44—47.

a succour. In a free city * like that of Athens, where eloquence was all-powerful, the orators had gained so great an ascendant over the minds of the people, that they made them form whatever resolutions they pleased. Here the people, at their request, ordained that all the statues and images of Philip and his ancestors should be destroyed : that the festivals, sacrifices and priests established in their honour should be abolished : that every place where any monument had been set up, or inscription engraved relating to them, should be declared impure and profane : that the priests, every time they offered up prayers to the gods, in favour of the Athenians, of their allies, their armies and fleets ; should also utter anathemas and curses of every kind against Philip, his children, his kingdom, his forces both by sea and land ; in a word, against the Macedonians in general, and all that belonged to them. To this decree was added, that whatever might be afterwards proposed, which tended in any manner to dishonour and bring an odium on Philip, would be grateful to the people ; and that whosoever should dare to say or do any thing in favour of Philip, or against the decrees in question, might be killed upon the spot without any formality. The last clause was, that whatever had been enacted against the Pisistratides, should take place against Philip. In this manner the † Athenians made war against Philip by their decrees and ordinances, which at that time were their only strength. Carrying all things to extremes, they now lavished encomiums, honours, and homage of every kind, on Attalus and the Romans.

The fleet, at its leaving Piræus, attacked and took several fortresses and small islands ; after which Atta-

* Nec unquam ibi desunt lingue promptæ ad plebem concitandam : quod genus, cum in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum præcipuè Athenis, ubi oratio plurimum pol-

let, favore multitudinis alitur. *Liv.*

† Athenienses quidem literis verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerebant. *Liv.*

lus and the Romans separated, and went into winter-quarters.

(b) In Rome, the year following, new consuls being chosen, Vilius had Macedonia for his province.

Philip, whilst he made the several preparations for carrying on the ensuing campaign, was exceedingly anxious with regard to the success of the war he had undertaken. Besides his having to deal with powerful and formidable enemies, he was afraid that the protection which the Romans gave to states, would draw off many of his allies from him; and that the Macedonians, uneasy at, and dissatisfied with his government, would rebel against him.

To obviate these dangers, he gave up some cities to the Achæans, thinking to attach them the more strongly to his interest by this unexpected generosity; and at the same time he sent ambassadors into Achaia, to make the allies take the oath which was to be renewed every year. But could he look upon this ceremony as a strong tie; such a one as would be capable of keeping the confederates in their duty; as he himself professed an open violation of all oaths; and did not make the least scruple to forfeit his promise, nor shew the least veneration for the supreme Being, religion, and all that mankind consider as most sacred?

(i) As to the Macedonians, he endeavoured to recover their love and affection, by sacrificing Heraclides, one of his ministers and confidants, whom the people hated and detested on account of his rapine and grievous oppressions; all which had made the government odious to them. He was of very mean extraction, and born in Tarentum, where he had exercised the meanest and most contemptible offices, and been banished from thence, for attempting to deliver up the city to the Romans. He had fled to Philip, who finding him a man of sense, of a lively genius, a daring spirit, and at the same time so insatiably ambitious

(b) A. M. 3085. Ant. J. C. 199. Liv. l. 31. n. 4.
n. 3.

(i) Polyb. l. 13. p. 672, 673.

as not to scruple the commission of the blackest crimes ; had attached him to himself in a particular manner, and trusted him with all his secrets ; a fit instrument for a prince, who had neither probity or honour. Heraclides, says Polybius, was born with all those qualities which constitute the finished villain. From his most tender years he had prostituted himself in the most infamous manner. Haughty and terrible to all his inferiors, he behaved in the meanest and most groveling manner towards his superiors. He was in such great credit and authority with Philip, that, according to the same author, he almost ruined that powerful kingdom, by the universal discontent which his injustice and oppression occasioned. At last the king caused him to be seized and thrown into prison, which occasioned an universal joy amongst the people. As we have only a few fragments of Polybius on this subject, history does not inform us what became of Heraclides, nor whether he came to the end his crimes deserved.

Nothing considerable was transacted during this campaign, any more than the foregoing, because the consuls did not enter Macedonia, till very late ; and the rest of the time was spent in slight skirmishes, either to force certain passes, or carry off convoys. (k) T. Quintius * Flamininus, having been nominated consul, and Macedonia falling to him by lot, he did not follow the example of his predecessors, but set out from Rome at the opening of the spring, with Lucius his brother, who, by leave of the senate, was to command his fleet.

At the beginning of the year in question, Antiochus invaded Attalus very vigorously both by sea and land. The ambassadors of the latter king came to Rome, and informed the senate of the great danger to which their sovereign was exposed. He intreated the Romans, in

(k) A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. 32. n. 9. 15.

* Plutarch calls him Flamininus, but it is an error, these being two different families.

Attalus's name, either to undertake his defence with the forces of the republic, or to permit king Attalus to recal his troops. The senate made answer, that as nothing could be more just and reasonable than Attalus's demand, he therefore was at full liberty to recal his forces: That the Romans never intended to incommode their allies in any manner; but that they would employ all their credit with Antiochus, to dissuade him from molesting Attalus. Accordingly, the Romans sent ambassadors to the former, who remonstrated to him, that Attalus had lent them his land as well as naval forces, which they had employed against Philip their common enemy; that they should think it an obligation, if he would not invade that prince; that it was fitting that such kings as were confederates and friends to the Romans should be at peace. These remonstrances being made to Antiochus, he immediately drew off his forces from the territories of king Attalus.

The instant he had, at the request of the Romans, laid aside his designs against that prince, he marched in person into Coelosyria, to recover those cities of which Aristomenes had dispossessed him. The Romans had entrusted this general with the administration of Egypt. (l) The first thing he had endeavoured was, to defend himself against the invasion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpose he raised the best troops he could. (m) He sent Scopas into Ætolia with large sums of money, to levy as many troops as possible; the Ætolians being at that time looked upon as the best soldiers. (n) This Scopas had formerly enjoyed the highest post in his own country, and was thought to be one of the bravest and most experienced generals of his time. When the time for continuing in his employment expired, he had flattered himself with the hopes of being continued in it, but was disappointed. This gave him disgust, so that he

(l) A. M. 3804. Ant. J. C. 200.
(n) Excerpt. Polyb. p. 60.

(m) Liv. l. 31. n. 43

left Ætolia, and engaged in the service of the king of Egypt. Scopas had such good success in his levies, that he brought six thousand soldiers from Ætolia; a good reinforcement for the Egyptian army.

(o) The ministers of Alexandria, seeing Antiochus employed in Asia minor, in the war which had broke out between him and Attalus king of Pergamus, sent Scopas into Palestine and Cœlosyria, to recover, if possible, those provinces. He carried on that war so successfully, that he recovered several cities, retook Judæa, threw a garrison into the citadel of Jerusalem; and, upon the approach of winter, returned to Alexandria, whither he brought (besides the glory of his victories) exceeding rich spoils taken in the conquered countries. We find by the sequel, that the great success of this campaign was owing principally to Antiochus's being absent, and to the little resistance which had therefore been made.

(p) He no sooner arrived there in person, but the face of things changed immediately, and victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who was returned with an army, was defeated at Paneas, near the source of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great slaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to fly to Sidon, where he shut himself up with the ten thousand men he had left. Antiochus besieged him in it, and reduced him to such extremities, that being in absolute want of provisions, he was forced to surrender the city, and content himself with having his life spared. However, the government of Alexandria had employed its utmost efforts to relieve him in Sidon; and three of the best generals, at the head of the choicest troops of the state, had been sent to raise the siege. But Antiochus disposed things so happily, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to accept

(o) A. M. 3805. Ant. J. C. 199. Hierom. in 11. Dan. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3. (p) A. M. 3806. Ant. J. C. 198. Liv. l. 32. n. 8. Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 77, &c. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3.

of the ignominious conditions above mentioned ; after which he returned to Alexandria, naked and disarmed.

(q) Antiochus went from thence to Gaza, where he met with so strong a resistance as exasperated him : and accordingly, having taken it, he abandoned the plunder of it to his soldiers. This being done, he secured the passes through which the troops were to come that might be sent from Egypt ; and returning back, subjected all Palestine and Coelosyria.

(r) The instant that the Jews, who at that time had reason to be displeased with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus advanced towards their country, they crowded very zealously to meet him, and deliver up the keys of all their cities ; being come to Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in pomp to meet him ; paid him all kinds of honour, and assisted him in driving out of the castle, the soldiers which Scopas had left in it. In return for these services, Antiochus granted them a great many privileges ; and enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple ; a prohibition which seemed visibly to have been made, on account of Philopator's attempt, who would have forced his way thither.

(s) Antiochus, in his eastern expedition, had received so many services from the Jews of Babylonia and Mesopotamia ; and depended so much on their fidelity, that when a sedition broke out in Phrygia and Lydia, he sent two thousand Jewish families to quell it, and keep the country in peace, and was exceedingly liberal to them. It was from these Jews transplanted at this time, that descended many of those * who

(q) Excerpt. ex Polyb. p. 87, & exc. Leg. 72. Liv. l. 33. n. 19.

(r) Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3.

(s) Joseph. ibid.

* They are thus called by St. James and St. Peter. To the twelve tribes which are scattered abroad, Jam. i. 1. To the stran-

gers scattered about Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. 1 Pet. i. 1.

were *dispersed or scattered abroad*, whom we shall afterwards find so numerous, especially in the gospel times.

Antiochus having thus subjected all Cœlosyria and Palestine, resolved, if possible, to make the like conquests in Asia minor. The great object he had in view was, to raise the empire of Syria to its pristine glory, by re-uniting to it all that his predecessors had ever possessed, and particularly Seleucus Nicator its founder. (t) As it would be necessary, for succeeding in his design, to prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, at a time that he should be at a distance from his kingdom; he sent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to king Ptolemy; but on this condition, that they should not celebrate their nuptials till they should be a little older; and that then, on the very day of their marriage, he would give up those provinces to Egypt, as his daughter's dowry. This proposal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the Egyptians relying on his promises, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation.

(u) I now resume the affairs of Macedonia. I observed that Quintus Flaminius (by either of which names I shall call him hereafter) had set out from Rome as soon as he had been appointed consul; and had carried with him Lucius his brother to command the fleet. Being arrived in Epirus, he found Villius encamped in presence of Philip's army, who, for a long time, had kept the passes and defiles along the banks of the Apfus, a river of the country of the Taulantians, between Epirus and Illyria. Having taken upon himself the command of the forces, the first thing he did was to consider and examine the situation of the country. As this pass seemed impracticable to an army, because there was but one narrow, steep

(t) Hierom. in. c. 11. Daniel.
Ant. J. C. 198.

(u) A. M. 3806.

path in it cut in the rock, and that the enemy were possessed of the avenues; he therefore was advised to take a large compass, as this would bring him to a wide smooth road. But, besides that he must have employed too much time in this winding march; he was afraid to remove too far from the sea, from whence he had all his provisions. For this reason, he resolved to go over the mountains, and to force the passes, whatever might be the consequence.

Philip having in vain made proposals of peace, in an interview between him and the consul, was obliged to have recourse again to arms. Accordingly, several slight skirmishes were fought in a pretty large plain; the Macedonians coming down in platoons from their mountains to attack the enemy, and afterwards retreating by steep, craggy ways. The Romans, hurried on by the fury of the battle, pursuing them to those places, were greatly annoyed; the Macedonians having planted on all these rocks catapultæ and balistæ, overwhelmed them with stones and arrows. Great numbers were wounded on both sides, and night separated the combatants.

Matters being in this state, some shepherds who fed their sheep on these mountains, came and told Flamininus, that they knew a by-way which was not guarded; and promised to guide him to the top of the mountains, in three days at farthest. They brought with them as their guarantee Charops, son of Machatas, the person of the greatest distinction among the Epirots, who secretly favoured the Romans. Flamininus, having such a voucher, sends a general with four thousand foot and three hundred horse. These shepherds, whom the Romans had chained together for fear of a surprize, led the detachment. During these three days, the consul contented himself with only a few slight skirmishes to amuse the enemy. But on the fourth, at day-break, he caused his whole army to stand to their arms; perceiving on the mountains a great smoke, which was the signal agreed upon be-

tween them, he marches directly against the enemy, perpetually exposed to the darts of the Macedonians, and still fighting hand to hand against those who guarded the passes. The Romans redouble their efforts, and repulse the enemy with great vigour into the most craggy ways; making great shouts, in order that they might be heard by their comrades on the mountain. The latter answered from the summit of it with a most dreadful noise; and at the same time fall upon the Macedonians, who seeing themselves attacked both in front and rear, are struck with a panic, and fly with the utmost speed. However, not above two thousand of them were killed, the paths being so craggy and steep, that it was impossible to pursue them far. The victors plundered their camp, and seized their tents and slaves.

Philip had marched at first towards Thessaly; but being afraid that the enemy would follow and attack him again there, he turned off towards Macedonia, and halted at Tempe, that he might be the better able to succour such cities as should be besieged.

The consul marched by Epirus, but did not lay waste the country, although he knew that all persons of the greatest distinction in it, Charops excepted, had opposed the Romans. However, as they submitted with great cheerfulness, he had a greater regard to their present disposition than to their past fault; a conduct that won him entirely the hearts of the Epirots. From thence he marched into Thessaly. The Ætolians and Athamanians had already taken several cities in that country; and he took the most considerable of them. Atrax, a city he besieged, detained him a long time, and made so stout a defence, that he at last was forced to leave it.

(y) In the mean time the Roman fleet, reinforced by those of Attalus and the Rhodians, was also active. They took two of the chief cities of Eubœa, Eretria and Cariste, garrisoned by Macedonians; after which,

(y) Liv. l. 32. n. 16, 25.

the three fleets advanced towards Cenchræ, a port of Corinth.

The consul marching into Phocis, most of the cities surrendered voluntarily. Elatia was the only city that shut her gates against him, so that he was obliged to besiege it in form. Whilst he was carrying on this siege, he meditated an important design, and this was, to induce the Achæans to abandon Philip and join the Romans. The three united fleets were upon the point of laying siege to Corinth; however, before he began it, he thought proper to offer the Achæans, to make Corinth enter again into their league, and to deliver it up to them, provided they would declare for the Romans. Ambassadors, sent in the consul's name by Lucius his brother, and in the name of Attalus, the Rhodians and the Athenians carried this message. The Achæans gave them audience in Sicyon.

The Achæans were very much at a loss in regard to the resolution it was necessary to take. The power of the Lacedæmonians, their perpetual enemies, kept them in awe; and on the other side, they were in still greater dread of the Romans. They had received from time immemorial, and very lately, great favours from the Macedonians; but Philip was universally suspected upon account of his perfidy and cruelty; and they were afraid of being enslaved by him, when the war should be terminated. Such was the disposition of the Achæans. The Roman ambassador spoke first, and afterwards those of Attalus, the Rhodians, and Philip: the Athenians were appointed to speak last, in order that they might refute what Philip's ambassador should advance. They spoke with the greatest virulency against the king, because no people had been so cruelly treated by him: and they gave a long detail of his injustice and cruelty in regard to them. These speeches took up the whole day, so that the assembly was put off till the morrow.

All the members being met, the herald, as was the custom, gave notice, in the name of the magistrates,
that

that all those who intended to speak, might begin. But no one rose up; and all, gazing upon one another, continued in a deep silence. Upon this Aristenes, chief magistrate of the Achæans; in order that the assembly might not break up without doing business, spoke as follows: "What then is become of
 " that warmth and vigour, with which you used to
 " dispute, at your tables and in your conversations,
 " about Philip and the Romans; which generally
 " rose to so great a height, that you were ready to cut
 " one another's throats? And now, in an assembly
 " summoned for no other purpose; after hearing the
 " speeches and arguments on both sides, you are
 " mute! Surely, if the love of your country cannot
 " loose your tongues, ought not the resolution which
 " each of you has formed in private, either for or
 " against Philip and the Romans, to oblige you to
 " speak; especially as there is none of you but knows,
 " that it will be too late, after the resolution shall
 " be once taken?"

These reproaches, though so judicious and reasonable, and made by the principal magistrate, could not prevail with any of the members to give his opinion; nor even occasioned the least murmur, the least noise in this assembly, though so very numerous, and composed of the representatives of so many states. Every body continued dumb and motionless.

Aristenes then spoke again to this effect: "Chiefs
 " of the Achæans, I perceive plainly that you want
 " courage more than counsel; since not one among
 " you, dares to speak his sentiments, with regard to
 " the common interest. Was I a private man, I
 " possibly might act as you do; but being the chief
 " magistrate of the Achæans, it is my opinion, ei-
 " ther that the ambassadors should not have been al-
 " lowed to assemble us, or that they should not be
 " dismissed without some answer. Now how will
 " it be possible for me to make any, unless you au-
 " thorized me by a decree? But, since not one a-

" mong you will, or dares speak his thoughts ; let us
 " suppose for a moment, that the speeches of the am-
 " bassadors which we heard yesterday, are so many
 " counsels they give, not for their own interest, but
 " purely for ours ; and let us weigh them maturely.
 " The Romans, the Rhodians and Attalus, desire
 " our friendship, and alliance ; and they request us to
 " assist them in their war against Philip. On the
 " other side, the latter puts us in mind of the treaty
 " which we concluded with him, and sealed and ra-
 " tified by an oath : One moment he requires us to
 " join with him, and the next he insists upon our
 " observing a strict neutrality. Is no one among you
 " surprized to hear those who are not yet our allies
 " demand more than he who has long been a confe-
 " derate ? Doubtless, it is not either modesty in Phi-
 " lip, nor temerity in the Romans, which prompts
 " them to act and speak as they do. This difference
 " in their sentiments arises from the disparity of their
 " strength and situation. My meaning is ; we see
 " nothing here belonging to Philip but his ambassador ;
 " whereas the Roman fleet lies now at anchor near
 " Cenchreæ, laden with the spoils of Eubœa ; and
 " the consul and his legions, who are but at a little
 " distance from the fleet, lay waste Phocis and Lo-
 " cris with impunity. You are surprized that Cleo-
 " medon, Philip's ambassador, should have advised
 " you, in so fearful and reserved a manner, to take
 " up arms in favour of the king against the Romans.
 " If, in consequence of the treaty in question, and of
 " the oath on which he lays such stress, we should
 " require Philip to defend us against Nabis, the La-
 " cedæmonians, and the Romans ; he would not
 " have any answer to make, much less would he be
 " able to give us any real succour ? This we experi-
 " enced last year, when, notwithstanding the express
 " words of our alliance, and the mighty promises he
 " made us, he suffered Nabis and the Lacedæmonians
 " to ravage our lands without opposition. In my
 " opinion,

“ opinion, Cleomedon seemed evidently to contradict
“ himself, in every part of his speech. He spoke
“ with contempt of the war against the Romans, pre-
“ tending it would have the same success, as that
“ which they had already made with Philip. Why
“ then does he implore our succour at a distance, and
“ by an ambassador ; instead of coming and defend-
“ ing us in person (we who are his antient allies)
“ against Nabis and the Romans ? Why did he suffer
“ Etreria and Caryste to be taken ? Why has he
“ abandoned so many cities of Thessaly, and every
“ part of Phocis and Locris ? Why does he suffer
“ Elatia to be besieged at this instant ? Was it a supe-
“ rior strength, was it fear, or his own will, that
“ made him abandon the defiles of Epirus, and give
“ up to the enemy those insuperable barriers, to go
“ and conceal himself in the most remote part of his
“ kingdom ? If he has voluntarily abandoned so many
“ allies to the mercy of the enemy, ought he to keep
“ them from providing for their own safety ? But, if
“ he was actuated by fear, he ought to forgive the
“ same weakness in us. If he has been forced to it,
“ do you, O Cleomedon, believe, that it is possible
“ for us, Achæans, to make head against the Roman
“ arms, to which the Macedonians have been obliged
“ to submit ? No comparison can be made between
“ the past and the present war. The Romans, at
“ that time, employed in affairs of greater impor-
“ tance, gave their allies little or no aid. Now they
“ have put an end to the Punic war, which they
“ sustained sixteen years in the center of Italy, they
“ do not send succours to the Ætolians ; but they
“ themselves, at the head of their armies, invade
“ Philip both by sea and land. Quintius, the third
“ consul whom they have sent against him, having
“ found him in a post which seemed inaccessible ; did
“ nevertheless force him from it, plundered his camp,
“ pursued him to Thessaly ; and took, almost in his
“ sight, the strongest fortresses belonging to his allies.

“ I will

“ I will take it for granted, that whatever the Athenian ambassador has advanced concerning the cruelty, the avarice, and the excesses of Philip, is not true ; that the crimes which he committed in Attica, do not any way affect us, any more than those he perpetrated in many other places, against the gods celestial, terrestrial, and infernal ; that we even ought to bury in everlasting oblivion, the injuries we have suffered from him. In a word, if we suppose that we are not treating with Philip, but with Antigonus, a mild and just prince, and from whom we all have received the greatest services ; would he make a demand like that of to day, so evidently opposite to our safety and preservation ? In case Nabis and his Lacedæmonians should come and invade us by land, and the Roman fleet by sea, will it be possible for the king to support us against such formidable enemies, or shall we be able to defend our selves ? Past transactions point out to what we must expect hereafter. The medium which is proposed, of our standing neuter, will infallibly render us a prey to the conqueror, who will not fail to attack us as cunning politicians, who waited for the event, before we would declare our selves. Believe what I say, when I assure you there is no medium. We either must have the Romans for our friends or for our enemies ; and they are come to us with a strong fleet, to offer us their friendship, and their aid. To refuse so advantageous an offer, and slight so favourable an occasion, which will never return, would be the highest folly, and show that we run voluntarily on our own destruction.”

This speech was followed by a great noise and murmuring throughout the whole assembly, some applauding it with joy, and others opposing it with violence. The magistrates called *Demiurgi* were no less divided among themselves. Of these, who were ten in number, five declared that each of them would deliberate upon

upon the affair in his assembly, and before his people; and the other five protested against it, upon pretence that the laws forbade both the magistrate to propose, and the assembly to pass any decree contrary to the alliance concluded with Philip. This day was entirely spent in quarrels and tumultuous cries. There remained but one day more, on which the laws appointed the assembly to end. The debates grew so hot, with regard to what was to be concluded in it, that fathers could scarce forbear striking their sons. Memnon of Pellene was one of the five magistrates who refused to make the report. His father, whose name was Rhisias, intreated and conjured him a long time, to let the Achæans provide for their own safety; and not expose them, by his obstinacy, to inevitable ruin. Finding his prayers could not avail, he swore that he would kill him with his own hands, if he did not come into his opinion, considering him, not as his son, but the enemy of his country. These terrible menaces, and paternal authority, made such an impression on Memnon, that he at last acquiesced.

The next day, the majority in the assembly desiring to have the affair debated, and the people discovering plainly enough what it was they wanted, the Dymeans, Megalopolitans, and some of the Argives withdrew from the assembly before the decree passed: and no one took offence at this, because they had particular obligations to Philip, who also had lately done them very considerable services. Gratitude is a virtue common to all ages and nations, and ingratitude is abhorred every where. All the other states, when the votes were to be taken, confirmed immediately, by a decree, the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; and suspended the entire conclusion of that with the Romans, till ambassadors should be sent to Rome, to obtain the ratification from the people, without which nothing could be concluded.

In the mean time, three ambassadors were sent to Quintius; and the whole army of the Achæans marched

ed to Corinth, which Lucius, the consul's brother, had already besieged, having before taken Cenchreæ. They at first carried on the attack but very faintly, from the hopes that a quarrel would soon arise between the garrison and the inhabitants. However, finding the city was quiet, the machines of war were made to approach on all sides ; and various assaults were made, which the besieged sustained with great vigour, and always repulsed the Romans. There was in Corinth a great number of Italian deserters, who, in case the city was taken, expected no quarter from the Romans, and therefore fought in despair. Philocles, one of Philip's captains, having thrown a fresh reinforcement into the city, and the Romans despairing to force it ; at last Lucius acquiesced with the advice of Attalus, and accordingly the siege was raised. The Achæans being sent away, Attalus and the Romans returned on board their fleets. The former sailed to the Piræus, and the latter to Corcyra.

Whilst the fleets besieged Corinth, T. Quintius the consul was employed in the siege of Elatea, where he was more successful : For, after the besieged had made a stout and vigorous resistance, he took the city, and afterwards the citadel.

At the same time, such of the inhabitants of Argos as had declared for Philip, found means to deliver up their city to Philocles one of his generals. Thus, notwithstanding the alliance which the Achæans had just before concluded with the Romans, Philip, still possessed two of their strongest cities, Corinth and Argos.

SECT. III. *Flamininus is continued in the command as proconsul. He has a fruitless interview with Philip about concluding a peace. The Ætolians, and Nabis tyrant of Sparta, declare for the Romans. Sicknes and death of Attalus. Flamininus defeats Philip in a battle near Scotussa and Cynoscephale in Thessaly. A peace concluded with Philip, which puts an end to the*

the Macedonian war. The extraordinary joy of the Greeks at the Isthmian games, when advice is brought, that they are restored to their antient liberty by the Romans.

(2) **N**EW consuls were appointed at Rome, but as the slow progress which had been made in the affairs of Macedonia, were justly ascribed to the frequent changing of those who were charged with them; Flamininus was continued in his command, and recruits were sent him.

(a) The season being already advanced, Quintius had taken up his winter-quarters in Phocis and Locris, when Philip sent a herald to him, to desire an interview. Quintius complied very readily, because he did not know what had been resolved upon at Rome with regard to himself; and that a conference would give him the liberty, either to continue the war in case he should be continued the command; or dispose matters so as to bring about a peace, if a successor were appointed him. The time and place being agreed upon, both parties met. Philip was attended by several Macedonian noblemen, and Cycliadus, one of the chief of the Achæans, whom that people had banished a little before. The Roman general was accompanied by Amynder king of Athamania, and by all the deputies of the allies. After some disputes with regard to the ceremonial, Quintius made his proposals, and every one of the allies their demands. Philip answered them, and as he began to inveigh against the Ætolians, Pheneas their magistrate, interrupted him in these words: "We are not met here merely about words; our business is, either to conquer sword in hand, or to submit to the most powerful.—A blind man may see that, replied Philip, ridiculing Phineas whose sight was bad." Philip * was very

(2) A. M. 3807. Ant. J. C. 197. Liv. l. 32. n. 27, & 28.

(a) Liv. l. 32. n. 32—37. Polyb. l. 17. p. 742—752. Plut. in Flamin. p. 371.

* Erat dicacior natura quam regem decet, et ne inter seria quidem risu satis temperans. Liv.

fond of jests, and could not refrain from them, even in treating the most serious affairs ; a behaviour very unbecoming in a prince.

This first interview being spent in contests, they met again the next day. Philip came very late to the place of meeting, which it was believed he did purposely, in order that the Ætolians and Achæans might not have time sufficient for answering him. He had a private conference with Quintius, who having acquainted the confederates with his proposals, not one approved them ; and they were upon the point of breaking off the conference, when Philip desired that the decision might be suspended till the next day ; promising that he himself would comply, in case it were not in his power to bring them into his opinion. At their next meeting, he earnestly intreated Quintius and the allies not to oppose a peace ; promising, either to agree to it on the conditions which he himself should prescribe, or accept of such as the senate might require. They could not refuse so reasonable a demand ; and accordingly a truce was agreed, but on condition, that his troops should immediately leave Phocis and Locris. After this, the several parties sent ambassadors to Rome.

Being arrived there, those of the allies were heard first. They inveighed heavily against Philip upon several accounts ; but they endeavoured particularly to prove, by the situation of the places, that in case he should continue possessed of Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia, (cities which he himself justly, though insolently, calls the shackles of Greece) it would be impossible for that country to enjoy its liberty. The king's ambassadors were afterwards called in. As they opened with a subject that would have spun to a great length, they were interrupted, and asked at once, whether they would give up the three cities in question ? Having answered, that no orders or instructions had been given them on that head, they were sent back, without being gratified

ed in a single demand. It was left to the option of Quintius, either to conclude a peace or carry on the war. By this he perceived that the senate would not be dissatisfied at the latter; and he himself was much better pleased to put an end to the war by a victory, than by a treaty of peace. He therefore would not agree to an interview with Philip; and sent to acquaint him, that hereafter he would never agree to any proposals he might offer with regard to peace, if he did not engage by way of preliminary entirely to quit Greece.

(b) Philip was now firmly resolved to make the necessary preparations of war. As it would be difficult for him to preserve the cities of Achæa, through their great distance from his hereditary dominions, he delivered up Argos to Nabis tyrant of Sparta, but only as a trust, which he was to surrender back to him, in case he should be victorious in this war; but, if things should fall out otherwise, he then was to possess it as his own. The tyrant accepting the conditions, was brought in the night into the city. Immediately the houses and possession of such of the chiefs as had fled were plundered; and those who staid behind were robbed of all their gold and silver, and taxed in very heavy sums. Those who gave their money readily and chearfully were not molested; but such as were either suspected to conceal their riches, or discovered only part of them, were cruelly whipped with rods like so many slaves, and treated with the utmost indignity. Nabis, having summoned the assembly, the first decree he enacted was for abolishing of debts; and the second, for dividing the lands equally among the citizens. This is the double bait generally hung out, to win the affections of the common people, and exasperate them against the rich.

The tyrant soon forgot from whom, and on what condition, he held the city. He sent ambassadors to Quintius and to Attalus, to acquaint them that he was

(b) Liv. l. 3. n. 38—40. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372.

master of Argos ; and to invite them to an interview, in which he hoped that they would agree without difficulty, to such conditions of a treaty as he was desirous of concluding with them. His proposal was accepted : in consequence of which the pro-consul and the king had an interview with him near Argos ; a step which seemed very unbecoming both. In this meeting the Romans insisted that Nabis should furnish them with troops, and discontinue the war with the Achæans. The tyrant agreed to the first article, but would consent only to a four months truce with the Achæans. The treaty was concluded on those conditions. This alliance with such a tyrant as Nabis, so infamous for his injustice and cruelty, reflects dishonour on the Romans ; but in war, soldiers think themselves allowed to take all advantages, at the expence even of honour and equity.

Nabis, after putting a strong garrison into Argos, had plundered all the men, and dispossessed them of all their riches : a little after he sent his wife thither, to use the ladies in the same manner. Accordingly, she sent for the women of the greatest distinction, either separately or in company ; when, partly by civility, and partly by threats, she extorted from them at different times, not only all their gold, but also their richest clothes, their most valuable moveables, and all their precious stones and jewels.

(c) When the spring was come, (for the incidents I have here related happened in the winter) Quintius and Attalus resolved, if possible, to secure the alliance of the Bœotians, which till then had been uncertain and wavering. In this view they went, with some ambassadors of the confederates, to Thebes, which was the capital of the country, and the place where the common assembly met. They were secretly favoured and supported by Antiphilus the chief magistrate. The Bœotians thought at first that they had come without forces and unguarded : but were greatly surprized when

(c) Liv. l. 33. n. 1, 2.

they

they saw Quintius followed by a considerable detachment of troops, whence they immediately judged, that things would be carried on in an arbitrary manner in the assembly. It was summoned to meet on the morrow. However, they concealed their grief and surprize; and indeed it would have been of no use, and even dangerous to have discovered them.

Attalus spoke first, and expatiated on the services which his ancestors and himself had done all Greece, and the republic of the Bœotians in particular. Being hurried away by his zeal for the Romans, and speaking with greater vehemence than suited his age, he fell down in the midst of his speech, and seemed half dead, so that they were forced to carry him out of the assembly, which interrupted their deliberations for some time. Aristhenes, captain-general of the Achæans, spoke next; and after him Quintius, who did not speak much; and laid greater stress on the fidelity of the Romans, than on their power or arms. Afterwards the votes were taken, when an alliance with the Romans was unanimously resolved upon; no one daring to oppose, or speak against it.

As Attalus's disorder did not seem dangerous, Quintius left him at Thebes, and returned to Elatea; highly satisfied with the double alliance he had concluded with the Achæans and Bœotians, which entirely secured him behind, and gave him an opportunity of employing his whole attention, and efforts on the side of Macedonia.

(*d*) As soon as Attalus had recovered a little strength, he was carried to Pergamus, where he died soon after, aged threescore and twelve years, of which he had reigned forty-four. Polybius observes, that Attalus did not imitate most great men, to whom great riches are generally the occasion of plunging into vices and irregularities of every kind. His generous and magnificent use of riches, directed and tempered by prudence, gave him an opportunity of enlarging his do-

(*d*) Liv. l. 33. n. 21. Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 101, 102.

minions,

minions, and of adorning himself with the title of king. He imagined he was rich only, that he might do good to others; and thought that he put out his money at a high and very lawful interest, in expending it in acts of bounty, and in purchasing friends. He governed his subjects with the strictest justice, and always observed his engagements inviolably with his allies. He was a generous friend, a tender husband, an affectionate father; and perfectly discharged all the duties of a king and of a private man. He left four sons, Eumenes, Attalus, Phileterus and Athenæus, of whom we shall have occasion to speak in the sequel.

(e) The armies on both sides had set out upon their march, in order to terminate the war by a battle. The forces were pretty equal on both sides, and each consisted of about twenty-five or twenty-six thousand men. Quintius advanced into Thessaly, where he was informed the enemy were also arrived; but being unable to discover exactly the place where they were encamped, he commanded his soldiers to cut stakes, in order to make use of them upon occasion.

Here Polybius and Livy, who frequently copy him, show the different manner in which the Greeks and Romans used the stakes with which they fortified their camp. Among the former, the best stakes were those round whose trunk a greater number of branches were spread, which made them so much the heavier; besides, as the arms of the Grecian soldiers were so ponderous that they could scarce carry them, they consequently could not easily carry stakes at the same time. Now the Romans did not leave above three, or at most four branches to each stake they cut, and all of them on the same side. In this manner the soldier was able to carry two or three of them, when tied together, and especially as he was not incommoded with his arms; his buckler being thrown over his shoulder, and having only two or three javelins in his hand.

(e) Polyb. l. 17. p. 754—762. Liv. l. 33. n. 3, 11. Plut. in Flamin. p. 372, 373. Justin. l. 30. c. 4.

Farther,

Farther, the latter kind of stakes do much greater service. Those of the Greeks might very easily be pulled up. As this stake, whose trunk was large, was single and detached from the rest; and besides, as the branches of it were strong and many in number; two or three soldiers could easily pull it out, and by that means open a way to enter the camp; not to mention that all the stakes near it must necessarily have been loosened, because their branches were too short to interweave one with the other. But it was not so with the stakes cut by the Romans; their branches being so closely interwoven, that it was scarce possible to discover the stake to which they belonged. Nor could any man pull up those stakes by thrusting his hand into the branches, which were so closely entwined that no vacant place was left; besides which all the ends of them were sharp-pointed. But though any hold could have been laid on them, yet the foot could not easily be removed for two reasons; first, because it was drove so deep into the ground that there was no moving it; and secondly, because the branches were so closely interwove, that it was impossible to pull up one without forcing away several others at the same time. Though two or three men put their whole strength to them, it yet was impossible for them to force the stakes away. And yet, whenever by shaking and moving them about, they at last were forced out of their places; still the opening made in that manner was almost imperceptible. Thus these kind of stakes were preferable, on three accounts, to those of the Greeks: they were to be had every where; could be carried with ease, and were a very strong palisade to a camp.

These sort of digressions, made by so great a master as Polybius, which turn on the usages and practice of war, commonly please persons of the military profession, to whom they may furnish useful hints, and in my opinion I ought to neglect nothing that may conduce to the public utility.

After the general had taken the precautions above mentioned, he marched out at the head of all his forces. After a few skirmishes, in which the Ætolian cavalry signalized themselves and were alway victorious, the two armies halted near Scotussa. Exceeding heavy rains, attended with thunder, having fallen the night before, the next day was so cloudy and dark, that a man could scarce see two paces before him. Philip then detached a body of troops, commanding them to seize upon the summit of the hills called Cynoscephale, which separated his camp from that of the Romans. Quintius also detached ten squadrons of horse, and about a thousand light-armed troops to reconnoitre the enemy; and at the same time directed them in the strongest terms to beware of ambuscades, as the weather was so very gloomy. This detachment met that of the Macedonians which had seized the eminences. At first, both parties were a little surprized at meeting, and afterwards began to skirmish. Each party sent advice to the general of what was doing. The Romans, being not very able to oppose the enemy, dispatched a courier to desire a reinforcement. Quintius immediately sent Archedamus and Eupolemus, both Ætolians; and with them two tribunes, each of whom commanded a thousand men, with five hundred horse, which joining the former, soon changed the face of the engagement. The Macedonians behaved valiantly enough; but being oppressed with the weight of their arms, they fled to the hills, and from thence sent to the king for succour.

Philip, who had detached a party of his soldiers for forage, being informed of the danger his first troops were in, and the sky beginning to clear up, dispatched Heraclides who commanded the Thessalian cavalry, Leo who commanded that of Macedonia, and Athenagoras, under whom were all the hired soldiers, those of Thrace excepted. When this reinforcement joined the first detachment, the courage of the Macedonians revived, and they returned to the charge,

and drove the Romans from the hills. They even would have gained a compleat victory, had it not been for the resistance made by the Ætolian cavalry, who fought with astonishing courage and intrepidity. These were the best soldiers among the Greeks, and were particularly famous for skirmishes and single combats. These so well sustained the impetuous charge of the Macedonians, that had it not been for their bravery, the Romans would have been repulsed into the valley. At some distance from the enemy, they took breath a little, and afterwards returned to the fight.

Couriers came every moment to inform Philip, that the Romans were terrified and fled, and that the time was come for defeating them entirely. Philip was not pleased either with the place or the weather, but could not refuse himself either to the repeated shouts or intreaties of his soldiers, who besought him to lead them on to battle; and accordingly he marched them out of his intrenchments. The proconsul did the same, and drew up his soldiers in order of battle.

The leaders on each side, in this instant which was going to determine their fate, animated their troops by all the most affecting motives. Philip represented to his soldiers, the Persians, Bactrians, Indians; in a word, all Asia and the whole east subdued by their victorious arms; adding, that they ought to behave with the greater courage, as they now were to fight, not for sovereignty but for liberty, which, to valiant minds, is more dear and valuable than the empire of the universe. As to the proconsul, he put his soldiers in mind of the victories they had so lately gained: on one side, Sicily and Carthage; on the other, Italy and Spain, subdued by the Romans; and to say all in a word, Hannibal, the great Hannibal, certainly equal if not superior to Alexander, driven out of Italy by their triumphant arms; and, which ought to rouse their courage the more, Philip, whom they now were going to engage, defeated more than once, and obliged to fly before them.

Fired * by these speeches, the soldiers who, on one side, called themselves victors of the East ; and on the other, conquerors of the West ; the former, fired with the glorious achievements of their ancestors ; and the latter, proud of the trophies and the victories they had so lately gained, prepared on each side for battle. Flamininus, having commanded the right wing not to move from its post, placed the elephants in the front of this wing ; and marching with an haughty and intrepid air, led on the left wing against the enemy in person. And now the skirmishers seeing themselves supported by the legions, return to the charge, and begin the attack.

Philip, with his light-armed troops, and the right wing of his phalanx, hastens towards the mountains ; commanding Nicanor to march the rest of the army immediately after him. When he approached the Roman camp, and found his light-armed troops engaged, he was exceedingly pleased at the sight. However, not long after seeing them give way, and in exceeding want of support, he was obliged to sustain them and engage in a general battle, though the greatest part of his phalanx was still upon their march towards the hills where he then was. In the mean time he receives such of his troops as had been repulsed ; posts them, whether horse or foot, on his right wing ; and commands the light-armed soldiers and the phalanx to double their files, and to keep their ranks close on the right.

This being done, as the Romans were near, he commands the phalanx to march towards them with their pikes presented, and the light-armed to extend beyond them on the right and left. Quintius had also, at the same time, received into his intervals those who had begun the fight, and he charged the Macedo-

* His adhortationibus utrinque concitati milites, praelio concurrunt, alteri Orientis, alteri Occidentis imperio gloriantes, ferentes-

que in bellum, alii majorum suorum antiquam et obsoletam gloriam, alii virentem recentibus experimentis virtutis florem. *Justin.*

nians. The onset being begun, each side sent up the most dreadful cries. Philip's right wing had visibly all the advantage, for, charging impetuously from those hills with his phalanx on the Romans, the latter could not sustain the shock of troops so well closed and covered with their shields, and an impenetrable front of pikes. The Romans were obliged to give way.

But it was different with regard to Philip's left wing, which was but just arrived. As its ranks were broke and separated by the hillocks and uneven ground; Quintius flew to his right wing, and charged vigorously the left wing of the Macedonians; persuaded that if he could but break it and put it in disorder, it would draw after it the other wing, although victorious. The event answered his expectation. As this wing, on account of the unevenness and ruggedness of the ground, could not keep in the form of a phalanx; nor double its ranks to give depth to that order of battle, in which its whole strength consists, it was entirely defeated.

On this occasion a tribune, who had not above twenty companies under him, made a movement that contributed very much to the victory. Observing that Philip, who was at a great distance from the rest of the army, charged the left wing of the Romans with vigour; he leaves the right where he was, (it not being in want of support) and considering the present disposition of the armies, consulting only his own reason, he marches towards the phalanx of the enemy's right wing, and charges them in the rear with all his troops. The phalanx, on account of the prodigious length of the pikes, and the closeness of its ranks, cannot face about to the rear, nor fight man to man. The tribune breaks into it, killing all before him as he advanced; and the Macedonians not being able to defend themselves, throw down their arms, and fly. What increased the slaughter was, that the Romans who had given way, having rallied, were returned to attack the phalanx in front at the same time.

Philip,

Philip, judging at first of the rest of the battle, from the advantage he had obtained in his wing, assured himself of a compleat victory. But when he saw his soldiers throw down their arms, and the Romans pouring upon them from behind; he drew off with a body of troops to some distance from the field of battle, and from thence took a survey of the whole engagement; but perceiving that the Romans who pursued his left wing, extended almost to the summit of the mountains, he got together all the Thracians and Macedonians he could assemble, and endeavoured to save himself by flight.

After the battle, in every part of which victory had declared for the Romans, Philip retired to Tempe, where he halted, to wait for those who had escaped the defeat. He had been so prudent, as to send orders to Larissa, to burn all his papers, that the Romans might not have an opportunity of distressing any of his friends. The Romans pursued for some time those who fled. The Ætolians were accused of having occasioned Philip's escape. For they amused themselves in plundering his camp, whilst the Romans were employed in pursuing the enemy; so that when they returned, they found almost nothing in it. They reproached them at first on that account, and afterwards quarrelled outright, each side loading the other with the grossest insults. On the morrow, after having got together the prisoners, and the rest of the spoils, they marched towards Larissa. The Romans lost about seven hundred men in this battle, and the Macedonians thirteen thousand, whereof eight thousand died in the field, and five thousand were taken prisoners. Thus ended the battle of Cynoscephale.

The Ætolians had certainly signalized themselves in this battle, and contributed very much to the victory: but then they were so vain, or rather insolent, as to ascribe the success of it entirely to themselves; declaring without reserve or modesty, that they were far better soldiers than the Romans; and spread this re-

port throughout all Greece. Quintius, who was already offended at them, for their greedy impatience in seizing the plunder without waiting for the Romans, was still more enraged at them for their insolent reports in regard to their superior valour. From that time he behaved with great coldness towards them, and never informed them of any thing relating to public affairs, affecting to humble their pride on all occasions.

These reports seem to have made too strong an impression on Quintius, who ought, in prudence, to have acted with more tenderness and caution in regard to allies so useful to the Romans; for by thus alienating their affection, he paved the way, at a distance, for that open defection, to which the resentment of the Ætolians afterwards carried them. But had he dissembled wisely; had he shut his eyes and ears to many things; and appeared sometimes ignorant of what the Ætolians might say or do improperly, he might perhaps have remedied every thing.

Some days after the battle, Philip sent ambassadors to Flaminius who was at Larissa, upon pretence of desiring a truce, for burying the dead; but, in reality, to obtain an interview with him. The proconsul agreed to both requests; and was so polite, as to bid the messenger tell the king, *That he desired him not to despond.* The Ætolians were highly offended at this message. As these people were not well acquainted with the character of the Romans, and judged of theirs from their own; they imagined that Flaminius would not have appeared favourable to Philip, if the latter had not corrupted him by bribes; and they were not ashamed to spread such reports among the allies.

The Roman general set out, with the confederates, for the entrance to Tempe, which was the appointed rendezvous. He assembled them before the king arrived, to enquire what they thought of the conditions of peace. Amyndrus, king of Athamania, who spoke in the name of the rest, said, that such a treaty
ought

ought to be concluded, as might enable Greece to preserve peace and liberty, even in the absence of the Romans.

Alexander the Ætolian spoke next, and said: That if the proconsul imagined, that in concluding a peace with Philip, he should procure a solid peace for the Romans, or lasting liberty for the Greeks, he was greatly mistaken: that the only way to put an end to the Macedonian war, would be to drive Philip out of his kingdom; and that this might be very easily effected, provided he would take the advantage of the present occasion. After corroborating what he had advanced with several reasons, he sat down.

Quintius, addressing himself to Alexander; "You do not know," says he, "either the character of the Romans, my views, or the interest of Greece. It is not usual with the Romans, after they have engaged in war with a king, or other power, to ruin him entirely; and of this Hannibal and the Carthaginians are a manifest proof. As to myself, I never intended to make an irreconcilable war against Philip; but was inclined to grant him a peace, whenever he should yield to the conditions that should be prescribed him. You yourselves, Ætolians, in the assemblies which were held for that purpose, never once mentioned depriving Philip of his kingdom. Should victory inspire us with such a design? How shameful were such sentiments? When an enemy attacks us in the field, it is our business to repel him with bravery and haughtiness: but when he is fallen, it is the duty of the victor to show moderation, gentleness and humanity. With regard to the Greeks, it is their interest, I confess, that the kingdom of Macedonia should be less powerful than formerly; but it no less concerns their welfare, that it should not be entirely destroyed. That kingdom serves them as a barrier against the Thracians and Gauls *, who, were they not

* A great number of Gauls had settled in the countries adjoining to Thrace.

“checked by it, would certainly fall heavy upon Greece, as they have frequently done before.”

Flamininus concluded with declaring, that his opinion, and that of the council were, that if Philip would promise to observe faithfully all the conditions which the allies had formerly prescribed, that then a peace should be granted him, after having consulted the senate about it; and that the Ætolians might form whatever resolutions they pleased on this occasion. Phineas, prætor of the Ætolians, having represented in very strong terms, that Philip, if he should escape the present danger, would soon form new projects, and light up a fresh war: “I shall take care of that,” replied the proconsul; “and shall take effectual methods to put it out of his power to undertake any thing against us.”

The next day, Philip arrived at the place appointed for the conference; and three days after the council being met again, he came into it, and spoke with so much prudence and wisdom, as softened the whole assembly. He declared that he would accept, and execute whatever conditions the Romans and the allies should prescribe; and that with regard to every thing else, he would rely entirely on the discretion of the senate. Upon these words the whole council were silent. Only Phineas the Ætolian started some difficulties, which were altogether improper, and for that reason entirely disregarded.

But what prompted Flamininus to urge the conclusion of the peace was, his having advice, that Antiochus, at the head of an army, was marching out of Syria, in order to make an irruption into Europe. He apprehended, that Philip might think of putting his cities into a condition of defence, and thereby might gain time. Besides, he was sensible that should another consul come in his stead, all the honour of that war would be ascribed to him. These reasons prevailed with him to grant the king a four months truce;

truce ; whereupon he received four * hundred talents from him, took Demetrius his son, and some of his friends as hostages ; and gave him permission to send to Rome, to receive such farther conditions from the senate as they should prescribe. Matters being thus adjusted, the parties separated, after having mutually promised, that in case a peace should not be concluded, Flamininus should return Philip the talents and the hostages. This being done, the several parties concerned sent deputations to Rome ; some to solicit peace, and others to throw obstacles in its way.

(f) Whilst these measures were concerting, to bring about a general peace ; some expeditions, of little importance, were undertaken in several places. Androsthenes, who commanded under the king at Corinth, had a considerable body of troops, consisting of above six thousand men : He was defeated in a battle by Nicostratus, prætor of the Achæans, who came upon him unawares ; and attacked him at a time when his troops were dispersed up and down the plains, and plundering the country. The Acarnanians were divided in their sentiments ; some being for Philip, and others for the Romans. The latter had laid siege to Leucus. News being brought of the victory gained at Cynoscephale, the whole country submitted to the conquerors. At the same time the Rhodians took Perea, a small country in Caria, which, as they pretended, belonged to them, and had been unjustly taken from them by the Macedonians. Philip, on the other side, repulsed the Dardanians, who had made an inroad into his kingdom, to plunder it during the ill state of his affairs. After this expedition, the king retired to Thessalonica.

(g) At Rome, the time for the election of consuls being come, L. Furius Purpureo, and M. Claudius Mar-

(f) Liv. l. 33. n. 14—19.

(g) A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C.

196. Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 793, 794. Liv. l. 33. n. 24, & 27—29.

* Four hundred thousand French crowns.

cellus were chosen. At the same time letters arrived from Quintius, containing the particulars of his victory over Philip. They were first read before the senate, and afterwards to the people; and public prayers during five days were ordered, to thank the gods for the protection they had granted the Romans, in the war against Philip.

Some days after, ambassadors arrived to treat of the intended peace with the king of Macedonia; the affair was debated in the senate. Each of the ambassadors made long speeches, according to his respective views and interests; but at last, the majority were for peace. The same affair being brought before the people, Marcellus, who passionately desired to command the armies in Greece, used his utmost endeavours to break the treaty, but all to no purpose: for the people approved of Flaminius's proposal, and ratified the conditions. Afterwards the senate appointed ten of the most illustrious citizens to go into Greece, in order for them to settle, in conjunction with Flaminius, the affairs of that country, and secure its liberties. In the same assembly, the Achæans desired to be received as allies of the people of Rome: but that affair meeting with some difficulties, it was referred to the ten commissioners.

A sedition had broke out in Bœotia, between the partizans of Philip and those of the Romans, which rose to a great height. Nevertheless, it was not attended with any ill consequences, the proconsul having soon appeased it.

(b) The ten commissioners who had set out from Rome to settle the affairs of Greece, arrived soon in that country. The chief conditions of the treaty of peace, which they settled in concert with Flaminius, were as follow: That all the other * cities of Greece,

(b) Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. p. 795—800. Liv. l. 33. n. 30—35. Plut. in Flam. p. 374—376.

* This word other, is put here in opposition to such of the Grecian cities as were subject to Philip, part of which only were restored to their

liberties, because the Romans thought it necessary to garrison Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth.

both in Asia and Europe, should be free, and be governed by their own laws: That Philip, before the celebration of the Isthmian games, should evacuate those in which he then had garrisons: That he should restore to the Romans all the prisoners and deserters, and deliver up to them all the ships that had decks, (five feluccas excepted) and the galley having sixteen benches of rowers. That he should pay * a thousand talents; one half down, and the other half in ten years, fifty every year, by way of tribute. Among the hostages required of him, was Demetrius his son, who accordingly was sent to Rome.

In this manner Flamininus ended the Macedonian war, to the great satisfaction of the Greeks, and very happily for Rome. For, not to mention Hannibal, who though vanquished, might still have an opportunity of finding the Romans considerable employment; Antiochus, seeing his power considerably increased by his glorious exploits, which had acquired him the surname of Great, had actually resolved to carry his arms into Europe. If therefore Flamininus, by his great prudence, had not foreseen what would come to pass, and had not speedily concluded this peace; had the war against Antiochus been joined, in the midst of Greece, with the war carrying on against Philip; and had the two greatest and most powerful kings then in the world (uniting their views and interests) invaded Rome at the same time; it is certain, the Romans would have been engaged in as many battles, and as great dangers, as those they had been obliged to sustain in the war against Hannibal.

As soon as this treaty of peace was known, all Greece, Ætolia excepted, received the news of it with universal joy. The inhabitants of the latter country seemed dissatisfied, and inveighed privately against it among the confederates, affirming, that it was nothing but empty words; that the Greeks were amused with the name of liberty, with which specious term the

* About 190000 l.

Romans covered their interested views. That they indeed suffered the cities in Asia to enjoy their freedom ; but that they seemed to reserve to themselves those of Europe, as Orea, Eretria, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Corinth. That therefore Greece, strictly speaking, was not freed from its chains ; and, at most, had only changed its sovereign.

These complaints made the proconsul so much the more uneasy, as they were not altogether without foundation. The commissioners, pursuant to the instructions they had received from Rome, advised Flaminius to restore all the Greeks to their liberty ; but to keep possession of the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, which were the inlets of Greece ; and to put strong garrisons into them, to prevent their being seized by Antiochus. He obtained, in the council, to have Corinth set at liberty ; but it was resolved there, that a strong garrison should be put into the citadel, as well as in the two cities of Chalcis and Demetrias ; and this for a time only, till they should be entirely rid of their fears with regard to Antiochus.

It was now the time in which the Isthmian games were to be solemnized ; and the expectation of what was to be there transacted, had drawn thither an incredible multitude of people, and persons of the highest rank. The conditions of the treaty of peace, which were not yet entirely made public, was the topic of all conversations, and various constructions were put on them ; but very few could be persuaded, that the Romans would evacuate all the cities they had taken. All Greece was in this uncertainty, when the multitude being assembled in the stadium to see the games, a herald comes forward, and publishes with a loud voice ;

THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND
TITUS QUINTIUS THE GENERAL, HAVING O-
VERCOME PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS,
EASE AND DELIVER FROM ALL GARRISONS, AND
TAXES, AND IMPOSTS, THE CORINTHIANS, THE
LOCRIANS, THE PHOCIANS, THE EUBOEANS,

THE

THE PHTHIOT ACHÆANS, THE MAGNESIANS, THE THESSALIANS, AND THE PERRHÆBIANS; DECLARE THEM FREE, AND ORDAIN THAT THEY SHALL BE GOVERNED BY THEIR RESPECTIVE LAWS AND USAGES.

At these * words, which many heard but imperfectly, because of the noise that interrupted them, all the spectators were filled with excess of joy. They gazed upon, and questioned one another with astonishment, and could not believe either their eyes or ears; so like a dream was what they then saw and heard. It was thought necessary for the herald to repeat the proclamation, which was now listened to with the most profound silence, so that not a single word of the decree was lost. But now fully assured of their happiness, they abandoned themselves again to the highest transports of joy, and broke into such loud and repeated acclamations, that the sea resounded them to a great distance; and some ravens, which happened to fly that instant over the assembly, fell down in the stadium: so true it is, that of all the blessings of this life, none are so dear to mankind as liberty! The games and sports were hurried over with neglect and disregard; for so great was the general joy upon this occasion, that it extinguished all other thoughts and regards.

The games being ended, all the people ran in crowds to the Roman general; and every one being eager to see his deliverer, to salute him, to kiss his hand, and to throw crowns and festoons of flowers over him;

* Audita voce præconis, majus gaudium fuit, quàm quod universum homines caperent. Vix satis credere se quisque audisse: alii alios intueri mirabundi velut somnii vanam speciem, quod ad quemque pertineret, suarum aurium fidei minimum credentes, proximos interrogabant. Revocatus præcoiterum pronunciare eadem. Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantus cum

clamore plausus est ortus, totiesque repetitus, ut facile appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius, quàm libertatem, esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent. Adeo unum gaudium præoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatum. *Liv. l. 33. n. 32.*

he would have run the hazard of being prest to death by the crowd, had not the vigour of his years, (for he was not above thirty-three years old) and the joy which so glorious a day gave him, sustained and enabled him to undergo the fatigue of it.

And indeed I would ask, whether any mortal ever saw a more happy or more glorious day, than this was for Flamininus and the Roman people? What are all the triumphs of the world in comparison with what we have seen on this occasion? Should we estimate the value of all the trophies, all the victories, all the conquests of Alexander and the greatest captains, how little would they appear, when opposed to this single action of goodness, humanity and justice? It is a great misfortune to princes, that they are not so sensible as they ought to be, to so refined a joy, to so affecting and exquisite a glory, as that which arises from doing good to many.

The remembrance * of so delightful a day, and of the invaluable blessing then bestowed, was for ever renewing, and for a long time the only subject of conversation at all times and in all places. Every one cried in the highest transports of admiration, and a kind of enthusiasm, “ that there was a people in the
“ world, who, at their own expence and the hazard
“ of their lives, engage in war for the liberty of o-
“ ther nations; and that not for their neighbours, or
“ people situated on the same continent; but who
“ crossed seas, and sailed to distant climes, to destroy
“ and extirpate unjust power from the earth, and to
“ establish universally law, equity and justice. That

* Nec præsens omnium modò effusa lætitia est; sed per multos dies gratis & cogitationibus & sermonibus revocata. Esse aliquam in terris gentem, quæ sua impensa, suo labore ac periculo, bella gerat pro libertate aliorum: nec hoc finitimis, aut propinquæ vicinitatis hominibus, aut terris continenti

junctis præstet: maria traiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum injustum imperium sit, & ubique jus, fas, lex potentissima sint. Una voce præconis liberatas omnes Græciæ atque Asiæ urbes. Hoc spe concipere, audacis animi fuisse: ad effectum adducere, virtutis & fortunæ ingentis, *Liv. a. 33.*

“ by

“ by a single word and the voice of a herald, liberty
 “ had been restored to all the cities of Greece and
 “ Asia. That a great soul only could have formed
 “ such a design ; but that to execute it was the effect
 “ at once of the highest good fortune, and the most
 “ consummate virtue.”

(b) They call to mind all the great battles which
 Greece had fought for the sake of liberty. “ After
 “ sustaining so many wars, said they, never was its
 “ valour crowned with so blest a reward, as when
 “ strangers came and took up arms in its defence. It
 “ was then, that almost without shedding a drop of
 “ blood, or losing scarce one man, it acquired the
 “ greatest and noblest of all prizes for which man-
 “ kind can contend. Valour and prudence are rare
 “ at all times ; but of all virtues, justice is most rare.
 “ Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, had
 “ great abilities for carrying on war, and gaining bat-
 “ tles both by sea and land ; but then it was for
 “ themselves and their country, not for strangers and
 “ foreigners they fought. That height of glory was
 “ reserved for the Romans.”

Such were the reflections the Greeks made on the
 present state of affairs ; and the effects soon answered
 the glorious proclamation made at the Isthmian
 games : for the commissioners separated, to go and
 put their decree in execution in all the cities.

Flamininus being returned from Argos, was ap-
 pointed president of the Nemean games. He dis-
 charged perfectly well all the duties of that employ-
 ment, and used his utmost endeavours to add to the
 pomp and magnificence of the festival ; and he also
 published by a herald at these games, as he had done at
 all the rest, the liberty of Greece.

As he visited the several cities, he established good or-
 dinances in them, reformed laws, restored amity and
 concord between the citizens, by appeasing quarrels
 and seditions, and recalling the exiles ; infinitely more

(b) Plut. in Flamin.

pleased

pleased with being able by the means of persuasion to reconcile the Greeks, and to re-establish unity amongst them, than he had been in conquering the Macedonians; so that liberty seemed the least of the blessings they had received from him. And indeed, of what service would liberty have been to the Greeks, had not justice and concord been restored among them? What an example is here for governors of provinces! How happy are the people under magistrates of this character!

It is related that Xenocrates the philosopher, having been delivered at Athens by Lycurgus the orator, out of the hands of the tax-gatherers, who were dragging him to prison, in order to make him pay a sum which foreigners were obliged by law to pay into the public treasury; and meeting soon after the sons of his deliverer, he said to them, *I repay with usury the kindness your father did me; for I am the cause that all mankind praise him.* But the gratitude which the Greeks showed Flamininus and the Romans, did not terminate merely in praising, but was also of infinite service to the augmentation of their power, by inducing all nations to confide in them, and rely on the faith of their engagements. For, they not only freely received such generals as the Romans sent them, but requested earnestly that they might be sent; they called them in, and put themselves into their hands with joy. And not only nations and cities, but princes and kings, who had complaints to offer against the injustice of neighbouring powers, had recourse to them, and put themselves in a manner under their safeguard; so that, in a short time, from an effect of the divine protection, (to use * Plutarch's expression) the whole earth submitted to their empire.

Cornelius, one of the commissioners who had dispersed themselves up and down, came to the assembly

* Οὐκ ἐνὶ φαντασίᾳ.

of the Greeks which was held at † Thermæ, a city of Ætolia. He there made a long speech, to exhort the Ætolians to continue firmly attached to the party for whom they had declared; and never to infringe the alliance they had made with the Romans. Some of the principal Ætolians complained, but with modesty, that the Romans, from the victory they had obtained, did not shew so much favour as before to their nation. Others reproached him, but in harsh and injurious terms, that had it not been for the Ætolians, the Romans would neither have conquered Philip, nor have been able to set foot in Greece. Cornelius, to prevent all disputes and contests, which are always of pernicious consequence, was so prudent as only to refer them to the senate, assuring them that all possible justice would be done them. Accordingly they came to that resolution; and thus ended the war against Philip.

SECT. IV. *Complaints being made, and suspicions arising concerning Antiochus, the Romans send an embassy to him, which has no other effect, but to dispose both parties for an open rupture. A conspiracy is formed by Scopas the Ætolian against Ptolemy. He and his accomplices are put to death. Hannibal retires to Antiochus. War of Flamininus against Nabis, whom he besieges in Sparta; he obliges him to sue for peace, and grants it him. He enters Rome in triumph.*

THE war of Macedonia had ended very fortunately for the Romans, who otherwise would have been invaded by two powerful enemies at the same time, Philip and Antiochus: for it was evident, that the Romans would soon be obliged to proclaim war against the king of Syria, who enlarged his conquests daily, and undoubtedly was preparing to cross over into Europe.

† According to Livy, it was at Thermopyla. It is doubted whether he has translated justly Polybius in this place: ἐν τῇ τῶν

Θερμικῶν σύνοδον. This is said of an assembly of Ætolians in the city of Thermæ, which is in Ætolia.

(i) After having established good order in Cœlosyria and Palestine, by the alliance he had concluded with the king of Egypt, and possessed himself of several cities of Asia minor, and among those of Ephesus, he took the most proper measures for the success of his designs; and to give him the possession of all those kingdoms which he pretended had formerly belonged to his ancestors.

Smyrna, Lampascus, and the other Grecian cities of Asia who enjoyed their liberty at that time, seeing plainly that he intended to bring them under subjection, resolved to defend themselves. But being unable to resist so powerful an enemy, they implored the Romans for protection, which was soon granted. The Romans saw plainly, that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus towards the west; and how fatal the consequence would be, should they suffer him to extend his power by settling on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down. The Romans were therefore very glad of the opportunity those free cities gave them, of opposing it; and immediately sent an embassy to him.

Before the ambassadors had time to reach Antiochus, he had already sent off detachments from his army, which had formed the sieges of Smyrna and Lampascus. That prince had passed the Hellespont in person with the rest of it, and possessed himself of all the Thracian Chersonesus. Finding the city of * *Lyfismachia* all in ruins, (the Thracians having demolished it a few years before) he began to rebuild it, with the design of founding a kingdom there for Seleucus his second son; to make all the country round it his dominions, and this city the capitol of a new kingdom.

At the very time that he was revolving all these new projects, the Roman ambassadors arrived in

(i) A. M. 3808. Ant. J. C. 196. Liv. l. 33. n. 38—41. Polyb. l. 17. p. 769—770. Appian, de bellis Syr. p. 86—88.

* This city stood on the Isthmus or neck of the Peninsula,

Thrace. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of that country; and were attended by deputies from the Grecian cities in Asia. In the first conferences, the whole passed in civilities, which appeared sincere; but when they proceeded to business, the face of affairs was soon changed. L. Cornelius, who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore to Ptolemy the several cities in Asia, which he had taken from him; that he should evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip; it not being just that he should reap the fruits of the war, which the Romans had carried on against that prince; and that he should not molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their liberty. He added, that the Romans were greatly surprized at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with two such numerous armies, and so powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Lyfimachia; an undertaking which could have no other view but to invade them.

To all this Antiochus answered, that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction, when his marriage, which was already concluded, should be solemnized. That with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him and not from the Romans they were to receive it. With respect to Lyfimachia, he declared that he rebuilt it, with the design of making it the residence of Seleucus his son; that Thrace, and the Chersonesus which was part of it, belonged to him; that they had been conquered from Lyfimachus by Seleucus Nicator, one of his ancestors, and that he came thither as into his own patrimony. As to Asia and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he knew not what right the Romans could have to them; and therefore he desired them to interfere no further in the affairs of Asia than he did with those of Italy.

The Romans desiring that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Lampfacus might be called in, they accordingly were admitted. These spoke with so much freedom, as incensed Antiochus to that degree, that he cried in a passion,

passion, that the Romans had no business to judge of those affairs. Upon this, the assembly broke up in great disorder; none of the parties received satisfaction, and the whole seemed to make a rupture inevitable.

During these negotiations, a report was spread that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus immediately thought himself master of Egypt, and accordingly went on board his fleet, in order to go and take possession of it. He left his son Seleucus at Lyfimachia with the army, to complete the projects he had formed with regard to those parts. He first went to Ephesus, where he caused all his ships in that port to join his fleet, in order to sail as soon as possible for Egypt. Arriving at Patara in Lycia, certain advice was brought, that the report which was spread concerning Ptolemy's death was false. For this reason he changed his course, and made for the island of Cyprus, in order to seize it: but a storm that arose sunk many of his ships, destroyed a great number of his men, and broke all his measures. He thought himself very happy, in having an opportunity of entering the harbour of Seleucia with his fleet, which he there refitted, and went and wintered in Antiochia, without making any new attempt that year.

(k) The foundation of the rumour which was spread of Ptolemy's death, was from a conspiracy's having been really formed against his life. This plot was contrived by Scopas. That general seeing himself at the head of all the foreign troops, the greatest part of which were Ætolians, (his countrymen) imagined that with so formidable a body of well-disciplined veteran forces, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and had he not let slip the opportunity, by consulting and debating with his friends, instead of acting, he would certainly have succeeded. Aristomenes, the prime minister, being apprized of the con-

(k) Polyb. l. 17. p. 771—773.

spiracy, laid Scopas under an arrest; after which, he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed with all his accomplices. This plot made the government confide no longer in the Ætolians, who, till then, had been in great esteem for their fidelity; most of them were removed from their employments, and sent into their own country. After Scopas's death, immense treasures were found in his coffers, which he had amassed, by plundering the provinces over which he commanded. As Scopas, during the course of his victories in Palestine, had subjected Judæa and Jerusalem to the Egyptian empire; the greatest part of his treasures arose no doubt from thence. The transition from avarice to perfidy and treason is often very short; and the fidelity of that general, who discovers a passion for riches, cannot be safely relied on.

One of Scopas's principal accomplices was Dicæarchus, who formerly had been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A very strange action is related of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the islands called Cyclades, in open violation of the most solemn treaties; before he came out of the harbour, he set up two altars, one to injustice, and the other to impiety; and offered sacrifices on both, to insult, as one would imagine at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so greatly distinguished himself by his crimes, Aristomenes distinguished him also from the rest of the conspirators in his execution. He dispatched all the others by poison, but as for Dicæarchus, he caused him to die in exquisite torments.

The contrivers of the conspiracy being put to death, and all their measures entirely defeated, the king was declared of age, though he had not yet quite attained the years, appointed by the laws; and was set upon the throne with great pomp and solemnity. He thereby took the government upon himself, and accordingly began to transact business. As long as Aristomenes administered under him, all things went well: But when

when he conceived disgust for that faithful and able minister, and not long after put him to death, (to rid himself of a man whose virtue was offensive to him) the remainder of his reign was one continued series of disorder and confusion. His subjects laboured now under as many evils, and even greater, than in his father's reign, when vice was most triumphant.

(1) When the ten commissioners, who were sent to settle the affairs of Philip, were returned to Rome, and made their report; they told the senate, that they must expect and prepare for a new war, which would be still more dangerous than that they had just before terminated: That Antiochus had crossed into Europe with a strong army, and a considerable fleet; that upon a false report which had been spread concerning Ptolemy's death, he had set out, in order to possess himself of Egypt, and that otherwise he would have made Greece the seat of the war: That the Ætolians, a people naturally restless and turbulent, and disgusted with Rome, would certainly rise on that occasion: That Greece fostered in its own bosom a tyrant (Nabis) more avaricious and cruel than any of his predecessors, who was meditating how to enslave it; and therefore, having been restored, in vain, to its liberty by the Romans, it would only change its sovereign; and would fall under a more grievous captivity than before, especially if Nabis should continue in possession of the city of Argos.

Flaminius was commanded to have an eye on Nabis, and they were particularly vigilant over all Antiochus's steps. He had just before left Antiochia, in the beginning of the spring, in order to go to Ephesus; and had scarce left it, when Hannibal arrived there, and claimed his protection. That general had lived unmolested in Carthage, during six years, from the conclusion of the peace with the Romans: but he was now suspected of holding a secret correspondence with

(1) A. M. 3809. Ant. J. C. 195. Liv. l. 33. n. 44—49. Justin. l. 31. c. 2,

Antiochus; and of forming with him the design of carrying the war into Italy. His enemies sent advice of this secretly to the Romans, who immediately deputed an embassy to Carthage, for more particular information in the fact; with orders, in case the proofs should be manifest, to require the Carthaginians to deliver up Hannibal to them. But that general * had too much penetration and foresight, and had been too long accustomed to prepare for storms, even in the greatest calms, not to suspect their design; so that before they had an opportunity to execute their commission, he withdrew privately, got to the coast, and went on board a ship which always lay ready by his order against such an occasion. He escaped to Tyre, and went from thence to Antioch, where he expected to find Antiochus, but was obliged to follow him to Ephesus.

He arrived there exactly at the time that the prince was meditating in suspense whether he should engage in a war with the Romans. The arrival of Hannibal gave him great satisfaction. He did not doubt but with the counsel and assistance of a man who had so often defeated the Romans, and who had thereby justly acquired the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to compleat all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests: Accordingly, war was resolved, and all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations. Nevertheless, during that time, embassies were sent on both sides, upon pretext of an accommodation; but, in reality, to gain time, and spy what the enemy were doing.

(m) With regard to Greece, all the states, except the Ætolians, whose secret discontent I observed before, enjoyed the sweets of liberty and peace, and in

(m) Liv. l. 34. n. 22, 43.

* Sed res Annibalem non diu latuit, virum ad prospicienda cavendaque pericula peritum; nec

minus in secundis adversa, quàm in adversis secunda cogitantem. *Justin.*

that condition admired no less the temperance, justice, and moderation of the Roman victor, than they had before admired his courage and intrepidity in the field. Such was the state of things, when Quintius received a decree from Rome, by which he was permitted to declare war against Nabis. Upon this, he convenes the confederates at Corinth, and after acquainting them with the cause of their meeting, “ You perceive, says he, that the subject of the present deliberation solely regards you. Our business is to determine, whether Argos, an antient and most illustrious city, situated in the midst of Greece, shall enjoy its liberty in common with the rest of the cities ; or, whether it shall continue subject to the tyrant of Sparta, who has seized it. This affair concerns the Romans only as the slavery of a single city would bereave them of the glory of having entirely delivered Greece. Consider therefore what is to be done, and your resolutions shall determine my conduct.”

The assembly were not divided in their opinion, except the Ætolians, who could not forbear showing their resentment against the Romans, which they carried so high, as to charge them with breach of faith in keeping possession of Chalcis and Demetrias, at a time that they boasted their having entirely restored the liberty of Greece. They inveighed no less against the rest of the allies, who desired to be secured from the rapine of the Ætolians, who, (according to them) were Greeks only in name, but its real enemies in their hearts. The dispute growing warm, Quintius obliged them to debate only on the subject before them ; upon which it was unanimously resolved, that war should be declared against Nabis tyrant of Sparta, in case he should refuse to restore Argos to its former liberty ; and every one promised to send a speedy succour : which was faithfully performed. Aristhenes, general of the Achæans, joined Quintius near Cleone, with ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse.

Philip

Philip sent fifteen hundred men, as his quota, and the Theſſalonians four hundred horſe. Quintius's brother arrived alſo with a fleet of forty gallies, to which the Rhodians and king Eumenes joined theirs. A great number of Lacedæmonian exiles came to the Roman camp, in hopes of having an opportunity of returning to their native country. They had Ageſipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta juſtly belonged. When but an infant, he had been expelled by Lycurgus the tyrant, after the death of Cleomenes.

The allies deſigned at firſt to beſiege Argos, but Quintius thought it more adviſeable to march directly againſt the tyrant. He had greatly ſtrengthened the fortifications of Sparta; and had ſent for a thouſand choſen ſoldiers from Crete, whom he joined to the other thouſand he had already among his forces. He had three thouſand other foreign troops in his ſervice; and, beſides theſe, ten thouſand natives of the country, excluſively of the Helots.

At the ſame time he alſo concerted meaſures, to ſecure himſelf from domeſtic troubles. Having cauſed the people to come unarmed to the aſſembly, and poſting armed ſoldiers round them; after ſome little preamble, he declared, that as the preſent juncture of affairs obliged him to take ſome precautions for his own ſafety, he therefore was determined to imprifon a certain number of citizens, whom he had juſt cauſe to ſuſpect; and that the inſtant the enemy ſhould be repulſed, (whom, he ſaid, he had no reaſon to fear, provided things were quiet at home) he would releaſe thoſe priſoners. He then named about eighty youths of the principal families; and throwing them into a ſtrong priſon, ordered all their throats to be cut the night following. He alſo put to death in the villages a great number of the Helots, who were ſuſpected of a deſign to deſert to the enemy. Having by this barbarity ſpread univerſal terror, he prepared for a vigorous defence; firmly reſolved not to quit the city during

ring the ferment it was in, nor hazard a battle against troops much superior in number to his own.

Quintius having advanced to the Eurotas, which runs almost under the walls of the city, whilst he was forming his camp, Nabis detached his foreign troops against him. As the Romans did not expect such a sally, because they had not been opposed at all upon their march, they were at first put into some disorder: but soon recovering themselves, they repulsed the enemy to the walls of the city. On the morrow, Quintius leading his troops, in order of battle, near the river on the other side of the city; when the rear-guard had passed, Nabis caused his foreign troops to attack it. The Romans instantly faced about, and the charge was very rude on both sides; but at last, the foreigners were broke and put to flight. Great numbers of them were killed; for the Achæans, who were well acquainted with the country, pursued them every where, and gave them no quarter. Quintius encamped near Amyclæ; and after ravaging all the beautiful plains that lay round the city, he removed his camp towards the Eurotas; and from thence ruined the vallies, at the foot of mount Taygetus, and the lands lying near the sea.

At the same time, the proconsul's brother, who commanded the Roman fleet, laid siege to Gythium, at that time a strong and very important city. The fleets of Eumenes and the Rhodians came up very seasonably; for the besieged defended themselves with great courage: however, after making a long and vigorous resistance, they surrendered.

The tyrant was alarmed at the taking of this city; and therefore sent a herald to Quintius, to demand an interview, which was granted. Besides several other arguments in his own favour, on which Nabis laid great stress; he insisted strongly on the late alliance which the Romans, and Quintius himself, had concluded with him in the war against Philip: an alliance, on which he ought to rely the more, as the Romans professed

professed themselves faithful and religious observers of treaties, which they boasted their having never violated. That nothing had been changed, on his part, since the treaty : that he was then what he had always been ; and had never given the Romans any new occasion for complaints or reproaches. These arguments were very just : and, to say the truth, Quintius had no solid reasons to oppose to them. Accordingly in his answer he only expatiated in random complaints, and reproached him with his avarice, cruelty and tyranny : but, was he less covetous, cruel and tyrannical, at the time of the treaty ? Nothing was concluded in this first interview.

The next day, Nabis agreed to abandon the city of Argos, since the Romans required it ; as also, to give them up their prisoners and deserters. He desired Quintius, in case he had any other demands, to put them into writing, in order that he might deliberate upon them with his friends ; to which Quintius consented. The Roman general also held a council with his allies. Most of them were of opinion, that they should continue the war against Nabis, which could only terminate gloriously, either by extirpating the tyrant, or at least his tyranny : for that otherwise, no body could be assured that the liberty of Greece was restored. That if the Romans made any kind of treaty with Nabis, that would be acknowledging him in a solemn manner, and giving a sanction to his usurpation. Quintius was for concluding a peace, because he was afraid that the Spartans would sustain a long siege, during which the war with Antiochus might break out on a sudden, and he not be in a condition to act with his forces against him. These were his pretended motives for desiring an accommodation ; but the true reason was, his being apprehensive that a new consul would be appointed to succeed him in Greece, and by that means deprive him of the glory of having terminated this war ; a motive, which commonly influenced

enced the resolutions of the Roman generals, more than the good of the public.

Finding that none of his reasons could make the least impression on the allies, he put on the appearance of giving into their opinion, and by that artifice brought them all over to his own. "Let us besiege Sparta," says he, "since you think it proper, and exert ourselves to the utmost for the success of our enterprize. As you are sensible that sieges often spin out to a greater length than is generally desired, let us resolve to take up our winter-quarters here, since it must be so: this is a resolution worthy of your courage. I have a sufficient number of troops for carrying on this siege: but the more numerous they are, the greater supply of provisions and convoys will be necessary. The winter that is coming on, exhibits nothing to us but a naked, ruined country, from which we can have no forage. You see the great extent of this city, and consequently the great number of catapultæ, battering rams, and other machines of all kinds that will be wanting. Write each of you to your cities, in order that they may furnish you speedily, in an abundant manner, with all things necessary for us. We are obliged in honour to carry on this siege vigorously; and it would be shameful for us, after having begun it, to be reduced to abandon our enterprize." Every one then making his own reflexions, perceived a great many difficulties he had not foreseen; and was fully sensible, that the proposal they were to make to their cities would meet with a very ill reception, as particulars in consequence would be obliged to contribute, out of their own purses, to the expence of the war. Changing therefore immediately their resolutions, they gave the Roman general full liberty to act as he should think proper, for the good of his republic, and the interests of the allies.

Upon which Quintius, admitting none into his council but the principal officers of the army, agreed,
in

in concert with them, on the conditions of peace, to be offered the tyrant. The chief were: That, within ten days, Nabis should evacuate Argos, and all the rest of the cities of Argolis, garrisoned by his troops: that he should restore to the maritime cities all the gallies he had taken from them; and that he himself should keep only two feluccas, with sixteen oars each: that he should surrender up to the cities in alliance with the Romans, all their prisoners, deserters, and slaves: That he should also restore to the Lacedæmonian exiles, such of their wives and children as were willing to follow them, but however without forcing them to do so: that he should give five hostages to be chosen by the Roman general, of which his son should be one: that he should pay down an * hundred talents of silver, and afterwards fifty talents annually, during eight years. A truce was granted for six months, that all parties might have time to send ambassadors to Rome, in order that the treaty might be ratified there.

The tyrant was not satisfied with any of these articles; but he was surprized, and thought himself happy, that no mention had been made of recalling the exiles. When the particulars of this treaty were known in the city, it raised a general sedition, from the necessity to which he reduced private persons, of restoring many things they were not willing to be deprived of. Thus, no farther mention was made of peace, and the war began again.

Quintius was now resolved to carry on the siege with great vigour, and began by examining very attentively the situation and condition of the city. Sparta had been a long time without walls; disdaining every other kind of fortification but the bravery of its citizens. Walls had been built in Sparta, only since the tyrants governed in it; and that but in places which lay open, and were of easy access: all the other parts were defended only by their natural situation,

* *An hundred thousand crowns.*

and by bodies of troops posted in them. As Quintius's army was very numerous (consisting of above fifty thousand men, because he had sent for all the land, as well as naval forces) he resolved to make it extend quite round the city, and to attack it on all sides, in order to strike the inhabitants with terror, and render them incapable of knowing on which side to turn themselves. Accordingly the city being attacked on all sides at the same instant, and the danger being every where equal, the tyrant did not know how to act, either in giving orders, or in sending succours, which quite distracted him.

The Lacedæmonians sustained the attacks of the besiegers, as long as they fought in defiles and narrow places. Their darts and javelins did little execution, because, pressing on one another, they could not stand firm on their feet; and had not their arms at liberty to discharge them with strength. The Romans drawing near the city, found themselves on a sudden overwhelmed with stones and tiles, thrown at them from the house-tops. However, laying their shields over their heads, they came forward in the form of the *testudo* or tortoise, by which they were entirely covered from the darts and tiles: The Romans advanced into the broader streets, when the Lacedæmonians, being no longer able to sustain their efforts, nor make head against them, fled to the most craggy and rugged eminences. Nabis, imagining the city was taken, was greatly perplexed how to make his escape. But one of his chief commanders saved the city, by setting fire to such edifices as were near the wall. The houses were soon in flames; the fire spread on all sides; and the smoke alone was capable of stopping the enemy. Such as were without the city and attacked the wall, were forced to move at a distance from it; and those who were got into the city, fearing that the spreading of the flames would cut off their communication, retired to their troops. Quintius then caused a retreat to be sounded; and after having almost

almost taken the city, was obliged to march his troops back into the camp.

The three following days he took advantage of the terror with which he had filled the inhabitants, sometimes by making new attacks, and at other times, by stopping up different places with works; in order that the besieged might have no opportunity to escape, but be lost to all hopes. Nabis seeing things desperate, deputed Pythagoras to Quintius, to treat of an accommodation. The Roman general refused at first to hear him, and commanded him to leave the camp. But the petitioner, throwing himself at his feet, after many intreaties at last obtained a truce upon the same conditions as had been prescribed before. Accordingly, the money was paid, and the hostages delivered to Quintius.

Whilst these things were doing, the Argives, who from the repeated advices they had, imagined that Lacedæmonia was taken, restored themselves to liberty, by driving out their garrison. Quintius, after granting Nabis a peace, and taking leave of Eumenes, the Rhodians and his brother (who returned to their respective fleets) repaired to Argos, whose inhabitants he found in incredible transports of joy. The Nemæan games, which could not be celebrated at the usual time, because of the war, had been put off till the arrival of the Roman general and his army. He performed all the honours of it, and distributed the prizes in it; or rather, he himself was the show. The Argives especially could not take off their eyes from a man, who had undertaken that war merely in their defence; had freed them from a cruel and ignominious slavery, and restored them to their antient liberty.

The Achæans were greatly pleased to see the city of Argos again in alliance with them, and restored to all their privileges: but Sparta being still enslaved, and a tyrant suffered in the midst of Greece, allayed their joy, and rendered it less perfect.

With regard to the Ætolians, it may be affirmed, that the peace granted to Nabis was their triumph. From that shameful and inglorious treaty, (for so they called it) they exclaimed in all places against the Romans. They observed, that in the war against Philip, the Romans had not laid down their arms, till after they had forced that prince to evacuate all the cities of Greece. That here, on the contrary, the usurper was maintained in the peaceable possession of Sparta; whilst that the lawful king (meaning Agefipolis) who had served under the proconsul, and so many illustrious citizens of Sparta, were condemned to pass the remainder of their days in banishment. In a word, that the Romans had made themselves the tyrant's guards and protectors. The Ætolians, in these complaints, confined their views solely to the advantages of liberty: but in great affairs, men should have an eye to all things; should content themselves with what they can execute with success, and not attempt a thousand schemes at once. Such were the motives of Quintius, as he himself will show hereafter.

Quintius returned from Argos to Elatea, from whence he had set out to carry on the war with Sparta. He spent the whole winter in administering justice to the people, in reconciling cities and private families, in regulating the government, and establishing order in all places; things which properly speaking are the real fruits of peace, the most glorious employment of a conqueror, and a certain proof of a war's being undertaken on just and reasonable motives. The ambassadors of Nabis being arrived at Rome, demanded and obtained the ratification of the treaty.

(n) In the beginning of the spring, Quintius went to Corinth, where he had convened a general assembly of the deputies of all the cities. There he represented to them, the joy and ardor with which the Romans had complied with the intreaties of the Greeks when they implored their succour; and had made an

alliance with them, which he hoped neither side would have occasion to repent. He gave an account, in few words, of the actions and enterprizes of the Roman generals his predecessors; and mentioned his own with a modesty of expression that heightened their merit. He was heard with universal applause, except when he began to speak of Nabis; on which occasion the assembly, by a modest murmur, discovered their grief and surprize that the deliverer of Greece should have left, in so renowned a city as Sparta, a tyrant, not only insupportable to his own country, but formidable to all the rest of the cities.

Quintius, who was not ignorant of the disposition of people's minds with regard to him, thought proper to give an account of his conduct in few words. He confessed, that no accommodation ought to have been made with the tyrant, could this have been done without hazarding the entire destruction of Sparta. But, as there was reason to fear, that this considerable city would be involved in the same ruin with Nabis; he therefore had thought it more prudent to let the tyrant live, weak and abandoned as he was; than perhaps to run the hazard, should they employ too violent remedies, of destroying the city, and that by the very endeavours employed to deliver it.

He added to what he had said of past transactions, that he was preparing to set out for Italy, and to send the whole army thither. That before ten days should be at an end, they should hear that the garrisons of Demetrias and Chalcis were evacuated, and that he would surrender to the Achæans the citadel of Corinth. That this would show, whether the Romans or Ætolians were most worthy of belief: whether the latter had the least foundation for the report they spread universally, that nothing could be of more dangerous consequence to a people, than to trust the Romans with their liberties; and that they only shifted the yoke, in accepting that republic for their master instead of the Macedonians. He concluded with saying, that it

was well known the Ætolians were not over prudent and discreet either in their words or actions.

He hinted to the other cities, that they ought to judge of their friends, not from words but actions; to be cautious whom they trusted, and against whom it was proper for them to guard. He exhorted them to use their liberty with moderation; that with this wise precaution, it was of the highest advantage to particular persons as well as to cities; but that without moderation it became a burden to others, and even pernicious to those who abused it. That the chief men in cities, the different orders that compose them, and the citizens themselves in general, should endeavour to preserve a perfect harmony: that so long as they should be united, neither kings nor tyrants would be able to distress them; that discord and sedition opened a door to dangers and evils of every kind, because the party which finds itself weakest within, seeks for support without; and chuses rather to call in a foreign power to its aid, than submit to its fellow-citizens. He concluded his speech with conjuring them, in the mildest and most gentle terms, to preserve and maintain, by their prudent conduct, the liberty which they owed to foreign arms; and to make the Romans sensible, that in restoring them to their freedom, they had not afforded their protection and beneficence to persons unworthy of it.

This counsel was received as from a father to his children. Whilst he spoke in this manner, the whole assembly wept for joy, and Quintius himself could not refrain from tears. A gentle murmur expressed the sentiments of all that were present. They gazed upon one another with admiration; and every one exhorted his neighbour to receive, with gratitude and respect, the words of the Roman general, as so many oracles, and preserve the remembrance of them in their hearts for ever.

After this, Quintius causing silence to be made, desired that they would enquire strictly after such Roman citizens

citizens as were in slavery in Greece, and send them to him in Thessaly in two months; adding, that it would ill become them to leave those in captivity to whom they were indebted for their freedom. All the people replied with the highest applauses, and thanked Quintius in particular, for hinting to them so just and indispensable a duty. The number of these slaves was very considerable. They were taken by Hannibal in the Punic war; but the Romans refusing to redeem them, they had been sold. It cost only the Achæans an hundred talents, that is, an hundred thousand crowns, to reimburse the masters the price they had paid for the slaves, at the rate of about * twelve pounds ten shillings an head; consequently the number here amounted to twelve hundred. The reader may form a judgment, in proportion, of all the rest of Greece. Before the assembly broke up, the garrison was seen marching down from the citadel, and afterwards out of the city. Quintius followed it soon after, and withdrew in the midst of the acclamations of the people, who called him their saviour and deliverer, and implored heaven to bestow all possible blessings upon him.

He withdrew in the same manner the garrisons from Chalcis and Demetrias, and was received in those cities with the like acclamations. From thence he went into Thessaly, where he found all things in the utmost disorder and confusion.

At last he embarked for Italy, and upon his arrival at Rome entered it in triumph. The ceremony lasted three days, during which he exhibited to the people (amidst the other pomp) the precious spoils he had taken in the wars against Philip and Nabis. Demetrius, son of the former, and Armenes of the latter, were among the hostages, and graced the victor's triumph. But the noblest ornament of it was, the Roman citizens delivered from slavery, who followed the victor's

* Five hundred Denarii.

car, with their heads shaved, as a mark of the liberty to which they had been restored.

SECT. V. *Universal preparations for the war between Antiochus and the Romans. Mutual embassies and interviews on both sides, which come to nothing. The Romans send troops against Nabis, who had infringed the treaty. Philopœmen gains another victory over him. The Ætolians implore the assistance of Antiochus. Nabis is killed. Antiochus goes at last to Greece.*

(o) **A**Ntiochus and the Romans were preparing for war. Ambassadors were arrived at Rome, in the name of all the Greeks, from a great part of Asia minor, and from several kings. They were favourably received by the senate; but as the affair of king Antiochus required a long examination, it was referred to Quintius and the commissioners who were returned from Asia. The debates were carried on with great warmth on both sides. The ambassadors of the king were surprized, as their sovereign had sent them merely to conclude an alliance and friendship with the Romans, that the latter should pretend to prescribe laws to him as to a conquered monarch; and nominate those cities which he might keep, and such as he was to abandon. Quintius, in concert with his colleagues, after a great many speeches and replies, declared to the king's ambassadors, that the Romans persisted in the resolution they had taken, to deliver the Grecian cities of Asia, as they had done those of Europe; and should see whether Antiochus would approve of that condition. They answered, that they could not enter into any engagement that tended to lessen the dominions of their sovereign. On the morrow, all the rest of the ambassadors were again introduced into the senate. Quintius reported what had been spoke and transacted in the conference; and intreated each of them in particular, to inform their respective cities, that the Romans were determined to defend their li-

(o) A. M. 3811. Ant. J. C. 193. Liv. l. 34. n. 57—62.

berties against Antiochus, with the same ardor and courage as they had done against Philip. Antiochus's ambassadors conjured the senate, not to form any rash resolution in an affair of so much importance; to allow the king time to reflect on matters; and to weigh and consider things maturely on their side, before they passed a decree, in which the public tranquillity would be involved. They did not yet come to a decision, but deputed to the king, Sulpitius, Villius, and Ælius, the same ambassadors who had already conferred with him at Lyfimachia.

Scarce were they gone, but ambassadors from Carthage arrived at Rome, and acquainted the senate, that Antiochus, at the instigation of Hannibal, was certainly preparing to carry on the war against the Romans. I had observed before, that Hannibal had fled for refuge to this prince, and was arrived at his court at the very instant the king was deliberating whether he should embark in this war. The presence and counsels of such a general, contributed very much to determine him to it. His opinion at that time, (and he always persisted in it) was, that he ought to carry his arms into Italy: that by this means the enemy's country would furnish them with troops and provisions; that otherwise, no prince nor people could be superior to the Romans, and that Italy could never be conquered but in Italy. He demanded but an hundred gallies, ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. He declared that with this fleet he would first go into Africa, where he was persuaded the Carthaginians would join him; but that, should he not succeed in the latter, he would sail directly for Italy, and there find effectual means to distress the Romans; that it was necessary that the king should go over into Europe with the rest of his forces, and halt in some part of Greece, and not go immediately into Italy, though he should always seem upon the point of doing it.

The king approving this project at first, Hannibal sent a Tyrian in whom he could confide, to Carthage,

to sound the citizens; for he did not care to venture letters, lest they should be intercepted; not to mention that business is transacted much better by word of mouth than by writing. But the Tyrian was discovered, and escaped with great difficulty. The Carthaginian senate sent immediate advice of this to the Romans, who apprehended being engaged at the same time in a war with Antiochus and the Carthaginians.

(p) No people, at this time, hated the Romans more than the Ætolians. Thoas, their general, was for ever incensing them; representing, in the most aggravating terms, the contempt the Romans had for them from their last victory, though chiefly owing to them. His remonstrance had the intended effect; and Damocritus was sent ambassador to Nabis, Nicander to Philip, and Dicearchus, Thoas's brother, to Antiochus, charged with particular instructions in regard to each of those princes.

The first represented to the tyrant of Sparta, that the Romans had entirely enervated his power, by dispossessing him of his maritime towns, as they furnished him with gallies, soldiers, and sailors: That, confined within his own walls, he had the mortification to see the Achæans reign over Peloponnesus: that he would never have so favourable an opportunity for recovering his antient power, as that which then presented itself: that the Romans had no army in Greece: that he might easily seize upon Gythium, which was situated very commodiously for him: and that the Romans would not think it worth while to send their legions again into Greece, to take a city of so little consequence.

Nicander employed still stronger motives to rouse Philip, who had been thrown down from a much superior height of greatness, and deprived of abundantly more than the tyrant. Besides which he enlarged on the antient glory of the kings of Macedonia, and in what manner the whole world had been subdued by

(p) A. M. 3810. Ant. J. C. 192. Liv. l. 35. n. 12.

their

their arms: that the proposal he made him would not expose him to any danger: that he did not desire him to declare war, till Antiochus should have passed into Greece with his army; and that if he (Philip) unassisted by Antiochus, had, with only his own forces, sustained so long a war against the Romans and the Ætolians united; how would it be possible for the Romans to resist him, when he should have concluded an alliance with Antiochus and the Ætolians? He did not forget to mention Hannibal, the sworn enemy to the Romans, of whose generals more had been defeated by him, than were living at that time.

Dicæarchus employed other arguments with Antiochus. He observed particularly, that in the war against Philip the Romans had taken the spoils, but that the whole honour of the victory had been due to the Ætolians: that they alone had opened them an entrance into Greece, and had enabled them to overcome the enemy, by aiding them with their troops. He gave a long detail of the number of horse and foot with which they would furnish him; and the strong towns and sea-ports possessed by them. He did not scruple to affirm, though without foundation, that Philip and Nabis were determined to unite with him against the Romans.

These are the steps the Ætolians took, to raise up enemies against Rome on every side. However, the two kings did not comply with them at that time; and did not take their resolution till afterwards.

With regard to Nabis, he sent immediately to all the maritime towns, to excite the inhabitants of them to rebellion. He bribed many of the principal citizens, and dispatched those who were inflexibly determined to adhere to the party of the Romans. Quintus, at his leaving Greece, had ordered the Achæans to be very vigilant in defending the maritime cities. They immediately sent deputies to the tyrant, to put him in mind of the treaty he had concluded with the Romans; and to exhort him not to infringe a peace
he

he had solicited so much. At the same time they sent troops to Gythium, which the tyrant had already besieged; and ambassadors to Rome, to inform the senate and people of what was doing.

(*q*) Antiochus did not yet declare himself openly, but took secret measures for promoting the great design he meditated. He thought it adviseable to strengthen himself by 'good alliances with his neighbours. In this view, he went to Raphia, a frontier city of Palestine towards Egypt. He there gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage to Ptolemy Epiphanes; and resigned to that prince, as her dowry, the provinces of Coelosyria and Palestine, but upon condition, as had been before stipulated, that he should retain but half the revenues.

At his return to Antioch, he gave another daughter, Antiochis by name, in marriage to Ariarathes king of Cappadocia. He would have been very glad to have bestowed the third on Eumenes king of Pergamus; but that prince refused her, contrary to the advice of his three brothers, who believed that an alliance of so great a monarch would be a great support to their house. However, Eumenes soon convinced them by the reasons he gave, that he had examined that affair more deliberately than they. He represented, that should he marry Antiochus's daughter, he would be under a necessity of espousing his interest against the Romans, with whom he plainly saw this monarch would soon be at variance: that, should the Romans get the better (as it was highly probable they would) he should be involved in the same ruin with the vanquished king, which would infallibly prove his destruction: that on the other side, should Antiochus have the advantage in this war, the only benefit that he (Eumenes) could reap by it, would be, that having the honour to be his son-in-law, he should be one of the first to become his slave. For they might be

(*q*) Polyb. l. 3. p. 167. Liv. l. 35. n. 13—20. Appian. in Syriac p. 83—92. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 3.

assured,

assured, that should Antiochus get the better of the Romans in this war, he would subject all Asia, and oblige all princes to do him homage : that they should have much better terms from the Romans, and therefore he was resolved to continue attached to their interests. The event showed that Eumenes was not mistaken.

After these marriages, Antiochus went with great diligence into Asia Minor, and arrived at Ephesus in the depth of winter. He set out from thence again in the beginning of the spring to punish the Pisidians, who were inclined to revolt ; after having sent his son into Syria, for the security of the provinces in the east.

I have said above, that the Romans had deputed Sulpitius, Ælius, and Villius, on an embassy to Antiochus. They had been ordered to go first to the court of Eumenes, and accordingly they went to Pergamus, the capital of his kingdom. That prince told them, that he desired nothing so much as a war with Antiochus. In times of peace, the having so powerful a king in his neighbourhood gave him very just alarm. In case of a war, he did not doubt but Antiochus would experience the same fate as Philip, and thereby either be entirely ruined ; or, should the Romans grant him a peace, Eumenes assured himself that part of his spoils and fortresses would be given him, which would enable him to defend himself, without any foreign aid, against his attacks : That after all, should things take a different turn, he had rather run the worst hazard, in concert with the Romans, than be exposed, by breaking with them, to submit, either voluntarily, or through force, to Antiochus.

Sulpitius being left sick in Pergamus, Villius, who received advice that Antiochus was engaged in the war of Pisidia, went to Ephesus, where he found Hannibal. He had several conferences with him, in which he endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade him, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans. He had better success in the design he proposed

proposed in that conduct, which was by treating Hannibal with great courtesy, and making him frequent visits, to render him suspected to the king; which accordingly happened, as we shall soon see.

Livy, on the authority of some historians, relates that Scipio was in this embassy, and that it was at this time that Hannibal made him the celebrated answer, I have related * elsewhere, when speaking of the most illustrious generals, he gave the first place to Alexander, the second to Pyrrhus, and the third to himself. Some authors look upon this embassy of Scipio as improbable, and the answer of Hannibal to be more so.

Villius went from Ephesus to Apamea, whither Antiochus repaired after having ended the war against the Pisidians. In their interview, they spoke on much the same topics, as those on which the king's ambassadors had debated with Quintius in Rome. Their conferences broke off, on that prince's receiving advice of the death of Antiochus his eldest son. He returned to Ephesus to lament his loss. But notwithstanding these fine appearances of affliction, it was generally believed that his shew of grief was merely political; and that he himself had sacrificed him to his ambition. He was a young prince of the greatest hopes, and had already given such shining proofs of wisdom, goodness, and other royal virtues, that he was the darling of all who knew him. It was pretended that the old king, growing jealous of him, had sent him from Ephesus into Syria, under the pretext of having an eye to the security of the provinces of the East; and that he had caused some eunuchs to poison him there, to rid himself of his fears. A king, and at the same time a father, ought not to be suspected of so horrid a crime, without the strongest and most evident proofs.

Villius, that he might not be importunate at a time of mourning and sorrow, was returned to Pergamus, where he found Sulpitius perfectly recovered.

* Vol. I. *History of the Carthaginians.*

The king sent for them soon after. They had a conference with his minister, which ended in complaints on both sides; after which they returned to Rome, without having concluded any thing.

The instant they were gone, Antiochus held a great council on the present affairs, in which every one exclaimed against the Romans, knowing that to be the best method of making their court to the king. They aggravated the haughtiness of their demands, and said it was strange, that they should attempt to prescribe laws to the greatest monarch of Asia, as if they were treating with a conquered Nabis. Alexander of Acarnania, who had a great ascendant over the king, as if the matter in deliberation were, not whether they should make war, but how, and in what manner they should carry it on; assured the king, that he would be infallibly victorious, in case he should cross into Europe, and settle in some part of Greece. That the Ætolians, who were in the center of it, would be the first to declare against the Romans: that at the two extremities of this country, Nabis, on one side, to recover what he had lost, would raise all Peloponnesus against them; and that on the other, Philip, who was still more disgusted, would not fail, at the first signal of war, to take up arms also: that they had no time to lose; and, that the decisive point was, to seize upon the most advantageous posts, and to make sure of allies. He added, that Hannibal ought to be sent immediately to Carthage, to perplex and employ the Romans.

Hannibal, whom his conferences with Villius had rendered suspected to the king, was not summoned to this council. He had perceived on several other occasions, that the king's friendship for him was very much cooled, and that he no longer reposed the same confidence in him. However, he had a private conference with him, in which he unbosomed himself without the least disguise. Speaking of his infant years, in which he had sworn on the altars to be the
eternal

eternal enemy of the Romans. "It is this oath, says he, it is this hatred, that prompted me to keep the sword drawn during thirty six years; it was the same animosity that occasioned my being banished from my country in a time of peace, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. If you defeat my hopes; guided by the same hatred, which can never expire but with my life, I will fly to every part of the world where there are soldiers and arms, to raise up enemies against the Romans. I hate them, and am hated by them. As long as you shall resolve to make war against them, you may consider Hannibal as the first of your friends: but if there are any motives which incline you to peace, take counsel of others, not of me." Antiochus, struck with these words, seemed to restore him his confidence and friendship.

The ambassadors being returned to Rome, it appeared evidently from their report, that a war with Antiochus was inevitable; but they did not think it yet time to proclaim it against him. They did not act so cautiously with regard to Nabis, who had been the first to violate the treaty, and was then actually besieging Gythium, and laying waste the territories of the Achæans. Acilius, the prætor, was sent with a fleet into Greece, to protect the allies.

(r) Philopœmen was general of the Achæans that year. He was not inferior to any captain with respect to land-service, but had no skill in naval affairs. Notwithstanding this, he took upon himself the command of the Achæan fleet *, and imagined that he should

(r) A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. 35. n. 25—30. Plut. in Philop. p. 363, 364.

* *The great prince of Condé thought and spoke much more wisely. In a conversation upon a sea-fight, the prince said, he should be very glad to see one, purely for his own instruction. A sea-officer who was present, replied, Sir, were your highness in a sea-fight, there is no admiral but*

would be proud of obeying your orders. My orders, interrupted the prince; I should not presume even to give my advice: but should stand quietly on the deck; and observe all the motions and operations of the battle, for my own instruction.

be as successful by sea as he had been by land : but he learnt, to his cost, not to depend so much upon his own judgment, and found how greatly useful experience is on all occasions ; for Nabis, who had fitted out some vessels with expedition, defeated Philopœmen, and he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. This disaster however did not discourage him, but only made him more prudent and circumspect for the future. Such is the use judicious men ought to make of their errors, which, by that means, are frequently more advantageous to them than the greatest successes. Nabis triumphed now, but Philopœmen resolved, if possible, to make his joy of short duration. Accordingly, a few days after, having surprized him when he least expected him, he set fire to his camp, and made a great slaughter of his troops. In the mean time Gythium surrendered, which very much augmented the pride and haughtiness of the tyrant.

Philopœmen saw plainly that it was necessary to come to a battle. In this lay his chief talent, and no general equalled him in drawing up an army, in making choice of the posts, in taking all advantages, and improving all the errors of an enemy. On this occasion, fired by jealousy, and animated with revenge against Nabis, he employed all his ability in the art of war. The battle was fought not far from Sparta. In the first attack, the auxiliary forces of Nabis, which formed his greatest strength, broke the Achæans, threw them into disorder, and forced them to give way. It was by Philopœmen's order that they fled to draw the enemy into ambuscades he had laid for them. Accordingly they fell into them ; and, whilst they were shouting as victorious, those who fled faced about ; and the Achæans charged them on a sudden from their ambuscades, and made a great slaughter. As the country was full of thickets, and very difficult for the cavalry to act in from the rivulets and morasses, with which it abounded ; the general would not suffer his troops to abandon themselves to their ardour, in pursuing

pursuing the enemy; but causing a retreat to be sound-
ed, he encamped on that very spot, though long be-
fore it was dark. As he was fully persuaded, that as
soon as it should be night, the enemy would return
from their flight, and retire towards the city in small
parties, he posted ambuscades, in all the passes round,
on the rivulets and hills, who killed or took great
numbers of them, so that Nabis hardly saved a fourth
of his army. Philopœmen having blocked him up in
Sparta, ravaged Laconia for a month; and, after
having considerably weakened the forces of the ty-
rant, he returned home, laden with spoils and glory.

This victory did Philopœmen great honour, because
it was manifestly owing solely to his prudence and
ability. A circumstance is related of him, which
is perhaps peculiar to him; and which young officers
should propose to themselves as a model. Whenever
he was upon a march, whether in times of peace or
war, and came to any difficult pass; he halted, and
asked himself (in case he were alone) or else enquired
of those who were with him, in what manner it
would be necessary to act, in case the enemy should
come suddenly upon them; if he charged them in
front, flank, or rear; if he came on in order of bat-
tle; or in less order, as when an army is on its
march. What post would it be proper for him to
take? In what places to dispose his baggage, and how
many troops would be necessary to guard it? Whether
it would be convenient for him to march forward, or
to return back the way he came? Where to pitch
his camp? Of what extent it ought to be? By what
method he could best secure his forage, and provide
water? What rout he should take the next day, after
he should decamp, and in what order it were best to
march? He had accustomed himself so early, and ex-
ercised himself so much in all these parts of the mili-
tary knowledge, that nothing was new to him; and
never was disconcerted by any unforeseen accident,
but resolved and acted immediately as if he had fore-
seen

seen every thing that happened. These things form the great captain: but the only method to be such is, to love one's profession, to think it an honour to improve in it, to study it seriously, and to despise the common topics of discourse of the indolent and insignificant part of an army, that have neither elevation of mind, nor views of honour and glory.

(s) During this expedition of the Achæans against Nabis, the Ætolians had sent ambassadors to Antiochus, to exhort him to cross into Greece. They not only promised to join him with all their forces, and to act in concert with him; but also assured him, that he might depend upon Philip king of Macedon, on Nabis king of Lacedæmonia, and on several other Grecian powers, who hated the Romans in their hearts, and would declare against them the moment of his arrival. Thoas, the first of the ambassadors, expatiated upon all these advantages in the strongest and most pompous terms. He observed to him, that the Romans, by drawing their army out of Greece, had left it in a defenceless condition: that this would be the finest opportunity for him to possess himself of it; that all the Greeks would receive him with open arms; and that the instant he came among them, he would be master of the country. This soothing description of the state of the Grecian affairs, made so deep an impression on him, that he could scarce give himself time to deliberate in what manner it would be most proper for him to act.

The Romans, on the other side, who were not ignorant of the measures taken by the Ætolians to disengage their allies from their interest, and increase their enemies on all sides, had sent ambassadors into Greece, among whom was Quintius. At his arrival, he found all the nations very well disposed with regard to the Romans, except the Magnesians, who had been alienated from them, by the report which was spread, of their intending to restore to Philip his son, who had

(s) Liv. l. 35. n. 31—34.

been given them as an hostage; and to deliver up to that monarch the city of Demetrias, which belonged to the Magnesians. It was necessary to undeceive them, but in so dexterous a manner as not to disgust Philip, whom it was much more their interest to oblige. This Quintius affected with great address. The author of these false reports was Eurylochus, at that time chief magistrate. As he let drop some harsh and injurious expressions against the Romans, which gave Quintius an opportunity of reproaching the Magnesians with their ingratitude; Zeno, one of the oldest among them, directing himself to Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors with tears, conjured them not to impute to a whole people the rancour of one man, who (he said) ought only to be answerable for it. That the Magnesians were obliged to Quintius and the Romans, not only for their liberty, but for whatever else is most dear and valuable among men; that as for themselves, they would sooner part with their lives than renounce the friendship of the Romans, and forget the obligations they owed to them. The whole assembly applauded this speech; and Eurylochus perceiving plainly, that there was no longer any safety for him in the city, took refuge amongst the Ætolians.

Thoas, the chief man of that people, was returned from Antiochus's court, from whence he had brought Menippus, whom the king had sent as his ambassador to the Ætolians. Before the general assembly was convened, these two had endeavoured, in concert, to prepare and prepossess the people, by enlarging upon the king's forces by sea and land; his numerous bodies of horse and foot; the elephants he had caused to be brought from India; and above all (which was the strongest motive with regard to the populace) the immense treasures which the king would bring with him, sufficient to buy even the Romans themselves.

Quintius had regular notice sent him of whatever was said or done in Ætolia. Though he looked upon
all

all things as lost on that side, yet, that he might have nothing to reproach himself with, and to lay the wrong still more on the side of the Ætolians, he thought proper to depute to their assemblies some ambassadors from the confederates, to put them in mind of their alliance with the Romans, and to be ready to reply freely to whatever Antiochus's ambassador might advance. He gave this commission to the Athenians; the dignity of their city, and their former alliance with the Ætolians, making them more proper to execute it than any other people.

Thoas opened the assembly, by acquainting it that an ambassador was arrived from Antiochus. Being introduced, he began with saying, that it would have been happy for the Greeks as well as Asiatics, had Antiochus concerned himself sooner in their affairs, and before Philip had been reduced; that then, every people would have preserved their rights, and all had not been subjected to the Roman power. "But still," says he, "if you execute the designs you have formed, Antiochus may, by the assistance of the gods and your aid, restore the affairs of Greece to their antient splendor, how desperate soever their condition may be."

The Athenians, who were next admitted to audience, contented themselves (without saying a word of the king) with putting the Ætolians in mind of the alliance they had concluded with the Romans, and the service Quintius had done to all Greece; conjuring them not to form any rash resolution, in an affair of so much importance as that in question: That bold resolutions, taken with heat and vivacity, might have a pleasing prospect at first, but that the difficulty of putting them in execution appeared afterwards, and that they were very rarely successful: That the Roman ambassadors, among whom was Quintius, were not far off: That as things were still undecided, it would show more wisdom to weigh and examine deliberately, in peaceable interviews, their several claims

and pretensions; than to involve precipitately Europe and Asia in a war, of which the consequences could not but be deplorable.

The populace, who are ever greedy of novelty, were entirely for Antiochus, and were even against admitting the Romans into the assembly: so that the oldest and wisest among them were forced to employ all their credit, before they could prevail to have them called in. Accordingly Quintius came thither, not so much from any hopes he entertained, of being able to make the least impression on the minds of the people, as to prove to all mankind, that the *Ætolians* were the sole cause of the war which was going to break out; and that the Romans would be forced to engage in it against their wills, and merely through necessity. He began by recalling to their memories, the time in which the *Ætolians* had concluded an alliance with the Romans: he made a transient mention of the many things by which they had infringed it; and after saying very little with regard to the cities which were the pretext of their quarrel, he only observed, that if they imagined themselves aggrieved, it would appear much more reasonable to make their remonstrances to the senate, who were always ready to hear their complaints; than out of mere wantonness to blow up a war between the Romans and Antiochus, which would disturb the peace of the universe, and infallibly terminate in the ruin of those who promoted it.

The event proved the truth of his representations, which however were disregarded at that time. Thoas, and those of his faction, were heard with great attention; and obtained without delay, and even in presence of the Romans, that a decree should be made, to invite Antiochus to come and deliver Greece, and be the arbiter of the differences between the *Ætolians* and Romans. Quintius desiring a copy of this decree, Damocritus (then in office) was so inconsiderate as to answer in the most insolent tone, that he
had

had business of much greater consequence upon his hands at that time; but that he himself would soon carry this decree into Italy, and encamp on the banks of the Tyber: so violent and furious a spirit had seized all the Ætolians, and even their principal magistrates. Quintius and the rest of the ambassadors returned to Corinth.

(1) The Ætolian privy-council formed, in one day, three very astonishing resolutions, to seize by a treacherous stratagem Demetrias, Chalcis, and Lacedæmon: and three of the principal citizens were charged with the execution of these expeditions.

Diocles set out for Demetrias, where, being assisted by Eurilochus's faction, who was in exile, but appeared then at the head of the forces which Diocles had brought, he made himself master of the city.

But Thoas was not so successful in Chalcis, which he imagined he should be able to seize by the help of an exile: for the magistrates, who were strongly attached to the Romans, having received advice of the attempt that was meditating against their city, put it in a good posture of defence, and enabled it to sustain a vigorous siege. Thus Thoas failing in his design, returned back in the utmost confusion.

The enterprize against Sparta was much more delicate and of greater importance. No access could be had to it, but under the mask of friendship. Nabis had long solicited the aid of the Ætolians. Alexamenes was therefore ordered to march a thousand foot thither. To these were added thirty young men, the flower of the cavalry, who were strictly enjoined by the magistrates to execute punctually their leader's orders, of what nature soever they might be. The tyrant received Alexamenes with great joy. Both used to march out their troops every day, and exercise them in the plains on the side of the Eurotas. One day, Alexamenes, having given the word to his troopers, he attacks Nabis, whom he had purposely

(1) Liv. l. 35. n. 34—39.

drawn into a solitary place, and throws him from his horse. Immediately all the troopers fall on, and cover him with wounds. Alexamenes, to lose no time, returns to the city to seize on Nabis's palace. Had he convened the assembly that instant, and made a speech suitable to the occasion, his business would have been done, and Sparta had declared for the Ætolians: But he spent the remainder of the day, and the whole night, in searching after the tyrant's treasures; and his troops, by his example, began to plunder the city. The Spartans taking up arms, make a great slaughter of the Ætolians dispersed in quest of booty, and march directly to the palace, where they kill Alexamenes, whom they found with little or no guard, and solely intent upon securing his rich spoils. Such was the result of the enterprize against Sparta.

(u) Philopœmen, general of the Achæans, no sooner heard of Nabis's death, but he marched a considerable body of troops towards Sparta, where he found all things in the utmost disorder. He assembled the principal citizens, made a speech to them as Alexamenes ought to have done, and prevailed so far between arguments and compulsion, that he engaged that city to join in the Achæan league.

This success greatly increased the reputation of Philopœmen with those states, his having brought over to the league a city of so great power and authority as Sparta, being justly esteemed a service of no small importance. By this means he also gained the friendship and confidence of the worthiest men in Lacedæmonia, who hoped he would prove their guarantee, and the defender of their liberty. For this reason, after the palace and furniture of Nabis had been sold, they resolved, by a public decree, to make him a present of the monies arising from that sale, amounting to an hundred and twenty * talents; and sent him a deputation to desire his acceptance of them.

(u) Plut. in Philop. p. 364, 365.

* An hundred and twenty thousand crowns.

On this occasion, says Plutarch, it was very evident, that the virtue of this great personage was of the purest and most perfect kind; and that he not only appeared a good and virtuous man, but was really such: Not one of the Spartans would undertake the commission of offering him that present. Struck with veneration and fear, they all excused themselves; and therefore it was at last resolved to send Timolaus, who had formerly been his guest.

When he arrived at Megalopolis, he lodged at the house of Philopœmen, who gave him the kindest reception. Here he had an opportunity of considering the severity of his whole conduct, the greatness of his sentiments, the frugality of his life, and the regularity of his manners, that rendered him invincible and incorruptible by money. Timolaus was so astonished at all he saw, that he did not dare so much as to mention to Philopœmen the present he was come to offer him: so that, giving some other pretence to his journey, he returned as he came. Timolaus was sent again, but was not more successful than before. At last, going a third time, he ventured (but with great pain to himself) to acquaint Philopœmen with the good-will of the Spartans.

Philopœmen heard him with great tranquillity; but the instant he had done speaking, he went to Sparta; where, after expressing the highest gratitude to the Spartans, he advised them not to lay out their money in bribing and corrupting such of their friends as were men of probity, because they might always enjoy the benefit of their virtue and wisdom without expence to them; but to keep their gold to purchase and corrupt the wicked, and those who, in councils, perplexed and divided the city by their seditious discourses; in order that being paid for their silence, they might not occasion so many distractions in the government. "For it is much more adviseable, added he, to stop an enemy's mouth, than that of a friend." Such was the disinterestedness of Philopœmen. Let the reader

compare these great and noble sentiments with the baseness of those groveling wretches, whose whole study is to heap up riches.

(x) Thoas had repaired to the court of Antiochus, and by the mighty promises he made that prince, by all he told him concerning the present state of Greece, and especially by the resolutions which had been taken in the general assembly of the Ætolians, he determined him to set out immediately for that country. He went with such precipitation, that he did not give himself time to concert the necessary measures for so important a war, nor carry with him a sufficient number of troops. He left behind him Lampascus, Troas, and Smyrna, three powerful cities, which he ought to have reduced before he declared war; but Antiochus, without waiting for the troops that were marching to join him from Syria and the east, brought only ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. These troops would hardly have sufficed, had he been to possess himself only of a naked and defenceless country, without having so formidable an enemy as the Romans to oppose.

He arrived first at Demetrias; and from thence, after receiving the decree which had been sent by the Ætolians and their ambassador, he went to Lamia, where their assembly was held. He was received there with the highest demonstrations of joy. He began with apologizing for his being come with much fewer troops than they expected; insinuating that his expedition was a proof of the zeal he had for their interest, since, at the first signal they gave him, he was come, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, and without waiting till all things were ready; but that their expectations should soon be answered: that as soon as the season for navigation should arrive, they should see all Greece filled with arms, men and horses, and all the sea-coasts covered with gallees: That he would spare neither expence, application, nor danger

(x) Liv. l. 35. n. 43—45.

for the deliverance of Greece, and to acquire the Ætolians the first rank in it: That with his numerous armies, there would arise from Asia munitions of every kind: that all he desired of them was, only to provide his troops with whatever might be necessary for their present subsistence. Having ended his speech he withdrew.

The most judicious in the assembly saw plainly that Antiochus, instead of a real and present succour, as he had promised, gave them little more than hopes and promises. They could have wished that they had only chosen him arbiter and mediator between them and the Romans, and not leader of the war. However, Thoas having gained a majority, caused Antiochus to be nominated generalissimo. Thirty of their principal men were appointed for his council, whenever he should think proper to deliberate with them.

SECT. VI. *Antiochus endeavours to bring over the Achæans to his interest, but in vain. He possesses himself of Chalcis and all Eubœa. The Romans proclaim war against him, and send Manius Acilius the consul into Greece. Antiochus makes an ill use of Hannibal's counsel. He is defeated near Thermopylæ. The Ætolians submit to the Romans.*

(y) THE first subject on which the king and the Ætolians deliberated was with what enterprise to begin first. It was thought adviseable to make a second attempt on Chalcis; and thereupon the troops set out for that city without loss of time. When they were near it, the king permitted the principal Ætolians, to have a conference with such citizens of Chalcis, as were come out of it on their arrival. The Ætolians urged them in the strongest terms to conclude an alliance with Antiochus, but without breaking their treaty with the Romans. They declared, that this prince was come into Greece, not to

(y) A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 197. Liv. l. 35. n. 46—51. Ap-
pian, in Syriac. p. 92, 93.

make it the seat of war ; but actually to deliver it, and not merely in words, as the Romans had done : that nothing could be of greater advantage to the cities of Greece, than to live in amity with both, because that the one would always defend them against the other ; and that by this means they would hold both in respect : that they would do well to consider, in case they should not agree to the proposal now made them, the great danger to which they would expose themselves ; as the aid they might expect from the Romans was at a great distance ; whereas the king was present, and at their gates.

Mission, one of the principal citizens of Chalcis, replied ; that he could not guess what people it was that Antiochus came to deliver, and for whose sake he had left his kingdom and was come into Greece : that he knew of no city garrisoned by Roman soldiers, nor that paid the least tribute to the Romans, or complained of being oppressed by them. That as for the inhabitants of Chalcis, they had no occasion for a deliverer, as they were free ; nor of a defender, as they enjoyed the sweets of peace, under the protection, and with the amity of the Romans : that they did not refuse the amity either of the king or of the Ætolians ; but that, if they would show themselves friends, the first thing they were desired to do was, to leave their island : that they were fully determined, neither to admit them into their city, nor to make any alliance with them, but in concert with the Romans.

This answer was reported to the king ; as he had brought but few troops, and was not able to force the city, he resolved to return to Demetrias. So imprudent and ill-concerted a first step did him no honour, and was no good omen with regard to the future.

They had recourse elsewhere, and endeavoured to bring over the Achæans and Athamanians. The former gave audience to the ambassadors of Antiochus and those of the Ætolians at Ægæ, where their assembly

sembly was held, in presence of Quintius the Roman general.

Antiochus's ambassador spoke first. He * was a vain man (as those generally are who live in the courts, and at the expence of princes;) and fancying himself a great orator, he spoke with an absolute and emphatical tone of voice. He told them, that a vast body of cavalry was passing the Hellespont into Europe, consisting, partly of cuirassiers and partly of bowmen, who, even when they were flying on horseback, turned about, and discharged their arrows with the surest aim. To this cavalry, which, according to him, were alone superior to the united forces of Europe, he added a more numerous infantry; the Dahæ, the Medes, the Elymæans, the Caddusians; and many other terrible unknown nations. With regard to the fleet, he affirmed it would be so large, that no harbour of Greece could contain it; the right wing to be composed of Tyrians and Sidonians; the left of Aradians and the Sidetes of Pamphilia; nations, who were allowed universally to be the best and most experienced mariners in the world: that it would be to no purpose to enumerate the immense sums which Antiochus was bringing with him; every one knowing, that the kingdoms of Asia had always abounded in gold: that they were to judge, in proportion, of the rest of the military preparations: that in consequence the Romans would not now have to do with a Philip or an Hannibal; the latter being only a citizen of Carthage, and the former confined within the narrow limits of Macedonia; but with a prince who was sovereign of all Asia and part of Europe: that nevertheless, though he was come from the most remote parts of the east, purely to restore the liberty of Greece, he did not require any article from the Achæans, that should interfere with the fidelity they might imagine they owed the Romans, their first friends and allies:

* Is, ut plerique quos opes terrasque inani sonitu verborum regia alunt, vaniloquus, maria compleverat. Liv.

that he did not desire them to unite their arms with his against the people in question, but only to stand neuter, and not declare for either party.

Archidamus, the Ætolian ambassador, spoke to the same effect ; adding, that the safest and wisest course the Achæans could take, would be, to remain spectators of the war, and to wait in peace for the event, without sharing in it, or incurring any hazard. Then, growing warmer as he went on, he threw out invectives and reproaches against the Romans in general, and against Quintius in particular. He called them an ungrateful people, who had forgot that they owed to the bravery of the Ætolians, not only the victory they had gained over Philip ; but their general's life, and the safety of their army. For what, continued he, did Quintius do in this battle, worthy a great captain ? He declared, that he himself had observed him during the engagement wholly employed in consulting the auspices, in sacrificing victims, and offering up vows, like an augur or a priest, whilst himself was exposing his person and life to the enemy's darts, for his defence and preservation.

To this Quintius answered, that it was plain which party Archidamus had studied to please by this speech : that knowing the Achæans were perfectly acquainted with the disposition and character of the Ætolians, whose courage consisted solely in words, not in actions ; he had not endeavoured to gain their esteem, but had studied to ingratiate himself with the king's ambassadors, and by their means, with the king himself : that if the world had not known till now, what it was that formed the alliance between Antiochus and the Ætolians, the speeches made by the ambassadors showed it visibly enough : that on both sides, nothing but boasting and falsehood had been employed. That vaunting of troops they had not, they seduced and blew up the vanity of each other by false promises and vain hopes ; the Ætolians asserting boldly on one side (as you have just now heard) that they had defeated Philip and preserved

preserved the Romans; and that all the cities of Greece were ready to declare for Ætolia; and the king, on the other side, affirming, that he was going to bring into the field innumerable bodies of horse and foot, and to cover the sea with his fleets. “ This, says he, puts me in mind of an entertainment given me in Chalcis, by a friend of mine, a very worthy man, who treats his guests in the best manner. Surprized at the prodigious quantity and variety of dishes that were served up, we asked him how it was possible for him in the month of June, to get together so great a quantity of game. My friend, who was not vain-glorious like these people, only fell a laughing, and owned sincerely, that what we took for venison, was nothing but swine’s flesh, seasoned several ways, and cooked up with different sauces. The same thing may be said of the king’s troops which have been so highly extolled; and whose number has been vainly multiplied in mighty names. For these Dahæ, Medes, Caddusians, and Elymæans are all but one nation, and a nation of slaves rather than soldiers. Why may not I, Achæans, represent to you all the motions and expeditions of this great king, who one moment hurries to the assembly of the Ætolians, there to beg for provisions and money; and the next goes in person to the very gates of Chalcis, from which he is obliged to retire with ignominy. Antiochus has very injudiciously given credit to the Ætolians, and they, with as little judgment, have believed Antiochus. This ought to teach you, not to suffer yourselves to be imposed upon, but to rely upon the faith of the Romans, which you have so often experienced. I am surprized they can venture to tell you, that it will be safest for you to stand neuter, and to remain only spectators of the war. That would indeed be a sure method; I mean, to become the prey of the victor.”

The Achæans were neither long, nor divided, in their deliberations, and the result was, that they should declare war against Antiochus and the Ætolians. Immediately, at the request of Quintius, they sent five hundred men to the aid of Chalcis, and the like number to Athens.

Antiochus received no greater satisfaction from the Bœotians, who answered, that they would consider on what was to be done, when that prince should come into Bœotia.

In the mean time Antiochus made a new attempt, and advanced to Chalcis with a much greater body of troops than before. And now the faction against the Romans prevailed, and the city opened its gates to him. The rest of the cities soon following their example, he made himself master of all Eubœa. He fancied he had made a great acquisition, in having reduced so considerable an island in his first campaign. But can that be called a conquest, where there are no enemies to make opposition?

(z) But terrible ones were making preparations against that prince. The Romans, after consulting the will of the gods by omens and auspices, proclaimed war against Antiochus and his adherents. Processions were appointed during two days to implore the aid and protection of the gods. They made a vow to solemnize the great games, for ten days, in case they should be successful in the war, and to make offerings in all the temples of the gods. What a reproach would so religious, though blind a paganism, reflect on Christian generals, who should be ashamed of piety and religion!

At the same time they omitted no human means to their success. The senators and inferior magistrates were forbidden to remove to any distance from Rome, from which they could not return the same day; and five senators were not allowed to be absent from it

(z) A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. 16. n. 1—15. Ap-
pian. in Syriac. p. 93—96.

at the same time. The love of their country took place of every thing. Acilius the consul, to whom Greece had fallen by lot, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Brundisium on the fifteenth of May; and set out from Rome himself some days before.

About the same time, ambassadors from Ptolemy, Philip, the Carthaginians, and Masinissa, arrived there, to offer the Romans money, corn, men, and ships. The senate said, that the people of Rome thanked them, but would accept of nothing except the corn, and that upon condition of paying for it. They only desired Philip to assist the consul.

In the mean time Antiochus, after having solicited many cities, either by his envoys or in person, to enter into an alliance with him, went to Demetrius, and there held a council of war with the chief commanders of his army, on the operations of the campaign that was going to open. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was present at it, and his opinion was first asked. He began by insisting on the necessity there was, to use the utmost endeavours to engage Philip in Antiochus's interest: which, he said, was so important a step, that if it succeeded, they might assure themselves of the success of the war. "And indeed," says he, as Philip sustained so long the whole weight "of the Roman power, what may not be expected "from a war, in which the two greatest kings of "Europe and Asia will unite their forces; especially, "as the Romans will have those against them in it, "who gave them the superiority before, I mean the "Ætolians and Athamanians, to whom only, as "is well known, they were indebted for victory. "Now, who can doubt but Philip may easily be "brought over from the Roman interest, if what "Thoas so often repeated to the king, in order to "induce him to cross into Greece, be true, that "this prince, highly incensed, to see himself reduced "to a shameful servitude under the name of peace, "waited only an opportunity to declare himself. And "could

“ could he ever hope one more favourable than that
 “ which now offers itself ? ” If Philip should refuse to
 join Antiochus, Hannibal advised him to send his
 son Seleucus at the head of the army he had in Thrace,
 to lay waste the frontiers of Macedonia, and by that
 means to render Philip incapable of assisting the Ro-
 mans.

He insisted on a still more important point, and
 asserted, as he had always done, that it would be im-
 possible to reduce the Romans, except in Italy ;
 which had been his reason for always advising Antio-
 chus to begin the war there. That since another
 course had been taken, and the king was at that time
 in Greece ; it was his opinion, in the present state of
 affairs, that the king ought to send immediately for
 all his troops out of Asia ; and not rely on the Æto-
 lians, or his other allies of Greece, who possibly
 might fail him on a sudden. That the instant those
 forces should arrive, it was proper to march towards
 those coasts of Greece, opposite to Italy, and order
 his fleet to set sail thither also. That he should em-
 ploy half of it, to alarm and ravage the coasts of Italy ;
 and keep the other half in some neighbouring harbour,
 in order to seem upon the point of crossing into Italy ;
 and actually to do so, in case a favourable opportunity
 should present itself. By this means, said he, the
 Romans will be kept at home, from the necessity of
 defending their own coasts ; and at the same time,
 it will be the best method for carrying the war into
 Italy, the only place (in his opinion) where the Ro-
 mans could be conquered. “ These (concluded
 “ Hannibal) are my thoughts ; and if I am not so
 “ well qualified for presiding in another war, I
 “ ought at least to have learnt by my good and ill
 “ successes, how to act in the field against the Ro-
 “ mans. My zeal and fidelity may be depended upon.
 “ As to the rest, I beseech the gods to prosper all your
 “ undertakings whatsoever they may be.”

The council could not then but approve of what Hannibal had said, and indeed it was the only good advice that could be given Antiochus in the present posture of his affairs. However, he complied only with the article which related to the troops of Asia; he immediately sending orders to Polyxenides his admiral, to bring them over into Greece. With regard to all the rest of Hannibal's plan, his courtiers and flatterers diverted him from putting it in execution, by assuring him, that he could not fail of being victorious. They observed farther, that should he follow Hannibal's plan, all the honour would be ascribed to Hannibal, because he had formed it; that the king ought to have all the glory of the war, and for that reason it was necessary for him to draw up another plan, without regarding that of the Carthaginian. In this manner are the best counsels lost, and the most powerful empires ruined.

The king having joined the troops of the allies to his own, takes several cities of Thessaly; he is however obliged to raise the siege of Larissa, Bebrius the Roman prætor having sent it a speedy aid, after which he retired to Demetrias.

From thence he went to Chalcis, where he fell distractedly in love with the man's daughter at whose house he lodged. Though he was upwards of fifty, he was so passionately fond of that girl, who was not twenty, that he resolved to marry her. Forgetting the two enterprizes he had formed, the war against the Romans, and the deliverance of Greece, he spent the rest of the winter in feasts and diversions, on the occasion of his nuptials. This taste for pleasure soon communicated itself from the king to the whole court, and occasioned an universal neglect of military discipline.

He did not wake out of the lethargy into which this effeminate life had thrown him, till news was brought, that Acilius the consul was advancing towards him in Thessaly with the utmost diligence.

Im-

Immediately the king set out; and finding at the place appointed for the rendezvous but a very small number of the confederate troops, whose officers told him, that it was impossible for them, though they had used their utmost endeavours, to bring more forces into the field; the king then found, but too late, how much he had been imposed upon by the great promises of Thoas; and the truth of Hannibal's words, that it would not be safe for him to rely on the troops of such allies. All he could do at that time was, to seize the pass of Thermopylæ, and send to the Ætolians for a reinforcement. Either the inclemency of the weather, or contrary winds, had prevented the arrival of the Asiatic forces, which Polyxenides was bringing, and the king had only those troops he had brought the year before, which scarce exceeded ten thousand men.

(a) Antiochus imagined he had provided sufficiently for his security against the Romans, who were advancing against him, by having seized the pass of Thermopylæ, and strengthening the natural fortifications with intrenchments and walls. The consul came forward, determined to attack him. Most of his officers and soldiers had been employed in the war against Philip. These he animated, by putting them in mind of the famous victory they had gained over that king, who was a much braver prince, and infinitely more practised in military affairs than Antiochus; who being newly married, and enervated by pleasures and voluptuousness, vainly fancied that war was to be carried on in the same manner as nuptials are solemnized. Acilius had dispatched Cato, his lieutenant, with a large detachment in quest of some by-path, that led to the hill above the enemy. Cato, after inexpressible fatigues, went over the mountains through the same path where Xerxes, and Brennus afterwards, opened themselves a passage; when falling suddenly on some soldiers whom he met there, he soon put them to flight.

(a) Liv. l. 35. n. 16—21. Plut. in Caton. p. 343, 344. Appian. in Syr. p. 96—98.

Immediately he orders the trumpets to sound, and advances at the head of his detachment sword in hand, and with great shouts. A body of six hundred Ætolians, who guarded some of the eminences, seeing him come down the mountains, take to their heels, and retire towards their army, where they spread universal terror. At the same instant, the consul attacks Antiochus's intrenchments with all his troops, and forces them. The king, having his teeth shattered by a stone, was in such excessive pain that he was forced to leave the field. After his retreat, no part of his army dared to stand their ground, or wait the coming up of the Romans. They were now universally routed in a place, where there was almost no outlets to escape through; for on one side they were stopped by deep fens, and on the other by craggy rocks; so that there was no getting off either on the right or left. The soldiers, however, crowding and pushing forward to avoid the enemy's swords, threw one another into the morasses and down the precipices, in which manner a great number of them perished.

After the battle was over, the consul embraced Cato a long time in his arms, who was still hot and out of breath; and cried out aloud, in the transports of his joy, that neither himself nor the Romans could ever reward his services as they deserved. Cato, who was now lieutenant-general under Acilius, had been consul, and had commanded the armies in Spain: but he did not think that the accepting of a subaltern employment for the service of his country, was any disgrace to him; and this was a frequent practice among the Romans. In the mean time the victorious army continued the pursuit, and cut to pieces all Antiochus's forces, five hundred excepted, with whom he escaped to Chalcis.

Acilius sent Cato to Rome, with the news of this victory, and related in his letters, how greatly his lieutenant had contributed to it. It is noble in a general, to do justice in this manner to virtue, and not
to

to harbour any thing so mean as jealousy of another's merit. The arrival of Cato at Rome, filled the citizens with a joy so much the greater, as they had very much doubted the success of the war against so powerful and renowned a prince. Orders were thereupon given for public prayers and sacrifices to be offered up to the gods, by way of thanksgiving, for three days together.

The reader has doubtless often admired, to see the heathens so very careful, in beginning and ending all their wars with solemn acts of religion; endeavouring, in the first place, by vows and sacrifices, to acquire the favour of those whom they honoured as gods; and afterwards returning them public and solemn thanks, for the success of their arms. This was a double testimony they paid to an important and capital truth, the tradition of which (of the same antiquity with the world) has been preserved by all nations; that there is a supreme being and a providence, which presides over all human events. This laudable custom is observed regularly among us; and it is only among Christians, in strictness of speech, that it may be called a religious custom. I only wish that one practice were added to it, which certainly corresponds with the intention of superiors, as well ecclesiastical as political; I mean, that prayers were offered up at the same time for those brave officers and soldiers, who have shed their blood in the defence of their country.

The victory gained over Antiochus was followed by the surrender of all the cities and fortresses which that prince had taken, and especially of Chalcis and of all Eubœa. The * consul, after his victory, discovered such a moderation in every thing, as reflected greater honour on him than the victory itself.

(b) Though the Ætolians, by their injurious and insolent conduct, had rendered themselves unworthy of

(b) Liv. l. 36. n. 22—26.

* Multo modestia post victoriam, quàm ipsa victoria, laudabilior.
Liv.

the least regard, Acilius however endeavoured to bring them over by gentle methods. He represented, that experience ought to teach them, how little they could depend on Antiochus: that it was not too late for them to have recourse to the clemency of the Romans: that to give an unexceptionable proof of the sincerity of their repentance, they should surrender to him Heraclea, their capital city. These remonstrances being all to no purpose, he saw plainly that he should be obliged to employ force, and accordingly he besieged that place with all his troops. Heraclea was a very strong city, of great extent, and able to make a long and vigorous defence. The consul having employed the balistæ, catapultæ, and all the other machines of war, attacked the city in four places at the same time. The besieged defended themselves with inexpressible courage or rather fury. They immediately repaired such parts of the wall as were beat down. In their frequent sallies, they charged with a violence it was scarce possible to support, for they fought in the highest despair. They burnt in an instant the greatest part of the machines employed against them. The attack was continued in this manner for four and twenty days, without the least intermission either day or night.

It was plain, that as the garrison did not consist of near so many forces as the Roman army, it must necessarily be greatly weakened by such violent and uninterrupted assaults. And now the consul formed a new plan. He discontinued the attack at twelve every night, and did not renew it till about nine the next morning. The Ætolians, not doubting but this proceeded from the over-fatigue of the besiegers, and persuaded that they were as much exhausted as themselves, they took advantage of the repose allowed them, and retired at the same time with the Romans. They continued this practice for some time: But the consul having drawn off his troops at midnight as usual, at three that morning he assaulted the city in
three

three places only; placing, at a fourth, a body of troops, who were commanded not to move, till a signal should be given. Such Ætolians as were asleep, being very drowsy and heavy from fatigue, were waked with the utmost difficulty; and those who rose from their slumbers, ran up and down at random wherever the noise called them. At day-break, the signal being given by the consul, the assault was made in that part of the city which had not yet been attacked; and from whence the besieged, on that account, had drawn off their people. The city was taken in an instant, and the Ætolians fled with the utmost precipitation into the citadel. The general suffered the city to be plundered, not so much from a spirit of hatred and revenge, as to reward the soldiers, who, till now, had not been allowed to plunder any of the cities they had taken. As the citadel was in want of provisions, it could not hold out long; and accordingly, at the first assault, the garrison surrendered. Among the prisoners was Damocritus, a person of the greatest distinction among the Ætolians, who in the beginning of the war had answered Quintius, *that he would bring him the decree to Italy, by which he had just before called in Antiochus.*

At the same time Philip was besieging * Lamia, which was but seven miles from Heraclea. It did not hold out long after the latter was taken.

Some days before this, the Ætolians had deputed ambassadors, with Thoas at their head, to Antiochus. The king promised them a speedy succour; gave them immediately a considerable sum of money, and kept Thoas, who staid very willingly with him, to hasten the execution of his promises.

(c) The Ætolians, who were exceedingly discouraged by the taking of Heraclea, considered how they might best put an end to a war, which had already been attended with very unhappy effects, and might

(c) Liv. l. 36. n. 27, 35.

* Both Lamia and Heraclea were in Phthiotis.

have much worse. But the populace not approving the conditions of peace which were prescribed, the negotiation came to nothing.

In the mean time, the consul laid siege to Nau-pactus, in which the Ætolians had shut themselves up with all their forces. The siege had already been carried on two months, when Quintius, who during this time had been employed in Greece, in other matters, came thither and joined the consul. The destruction of that city would involve almost the whole people in the same fate. The usage which Quintius had met with from the Ætolians, had given him the greatest reason to be dissatisfied with them. However, he was moved to compassion, when he saw them on the brink of destruction; and therefore he advanced so near the walls, as to be known by the besieged. The city was reduced to the last extremities. A rumour being spread that Quintius was approaching, immediately the citizens run from all quarters to the walls. Those unfortunate people stretching forth their hands towards Quintius, and calling him by his name, all burst into tears, and implored his assistance with the most mournful cries. Quintius, moved with their condition even to shedding of tears, expressed by his gesture that he could do nothing for them, and returned to the consul. In their conversation he represented, that as he had overcome Antiochus, it was but lost time to continue the siege of those two cities, and that the year of his command was near expiring. Acilius agreed with him; but being ashamed to raise the siege, he left Quintius at liberty to act as he pleased. The latter advancing near the walls a second time, the mournful cries were again heard, and the citizens besought him to take compassion of them. Quintius, by a sign with his hand, bid them send deputies to him; when immediately Pheneas and the principal citizens came out, and threw themselves at his feet. Seeing them in that humble posture; "Your calamity,

" mity, says he, banishes from my mind all thoughts
 " of resentment and revenge. You now find that
 " all things have happened as I foretold you they
 " would : and you have not the consolation of being
 " able to say, that none of these misfortunes were ow-
 " ing to yourselves. But, destined, as I am, by pro-
 " vidence to preserve Greece, your ingratitude shall
 " not cancel my inclination to do good. Depute
 " therefore some persons to the consul, and beg a
 " truce for as much time as may suffice for sending
 " ambassadors to Rome, in order to make your sub-
 " missions to the senate. I will be your mediator and
 " advocate with the consul." They followed Quin-
 tius's advice in every thing. The consul granted them
 a truce, broke the siege, and marched back his army
 to Phocis.

King Philip sent ambassadors to Rome, to con-
 gratulate the Romans on the happy success of this cam-
 paign, and to offer presents and sacrifices to the gods
 in the Capitol. They were received there with the
 highest marks of distinction ; and the Romans gave
 up to them Demetrius, the son of Philip, who had
 been an hostage in their city. Thus ended the war
 which the Romans carried on against Antiochus in
 Greece.

SECT. VII. *Polyxenides, admiral of Antiochus's fleet,*
is defeated by Livius. L. Scipio, the new consul, is
appointed to carry on the war against Antiochus. Sci-
pio Africanus his brother serves under him. The Rho-
dians defeat Hannibal in a sea-fight. The consul
marches against Antiochus, and crosses into Asia. He
gains a signal victory over him near Magnesia. The
king obtains a peace ; and gives up, by a treaty, all
Asia on this side mount Taurus. Dispute between Eu-
menes and the Rhodians, in presence of the Roman
senate, relating to the Grecian cities of Asia.

(d) WHILST

(d) **W**HILST the affairs I have just related passed in Greece, Antiochus lived easy and undisturbed in Ephesus ; relying on the assurances of his flatterers and courtiers, that he had no reason to be under any apprehensions from the Romans, who, (they declared) did not intend to cross into Asia. Hannibal was the only person capable of rousing him from this lethargy. He told the king plainly, that instead of entertaining vain hopes, and suffering himself to be lulled asleep by irrational and improbable discourse, he might be assured, that he would soon be forced to fight the Romans both by sea and land, in Asia and for Asia ; and that he must resolve, either to renounce the empire of it, or to defend it sword in hand, against enemies who aspired at no less than the conquest of the whole world.

The king then became sensible of the great danger he was in, and immediately sent orders to hasten the march of the eastern troops which were not yet arrived. He also fitted out a fleet, embarked, and sailed to the Chersonesus. He there fortified Lyfimachia, Sestus, Abydos, and other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing into Asia by the Hellespont ; and this being done, he returned to Ephesus.

Here it was resolved, in a great council, to venture a naval engagement. Polyxenides, admiral of the fleet, was ordered to go in search of C. Livius, who commanded that of the Romans, which was just before arrived in the Ægean sea, and to attack it. They met near mount Corychus in Ionia. The battle was fought with great bravery on both sides ; but at last Polyxenides was beat, and obliged to fly. Ten of his ships were sunk, thirteen taken, and he escaped with the rest to Ephesus. The Romans sailed into the harbour of Canna, in Æolia, drew their ships ashore ;

(d) A. M. 3813. Ant. J. C. 191. Liv. l. 36. n. 41—45. Appian, in Syriac. p. 99, 100.

and fortified, with a good intrenchment and rampart, the place where they laid them up for the whole winter.

(e) Antiochus, at the time this happened, was in Magnesia, assembling his land forces. News being brought that his fleet was defeated, he marched towards the coast, and resolved to equip another so powerful, as might be able to preserve the empire of those seas. For this purpose, he refitted such ships as had been brought off; reinforced them with new ones, and sent Hannibal into Syria, to fetch those of Syria and Phœnicia. He also gave part of the army to Seleucus his son, whom he sent into Æolia, to watch the Roman fleet, and awe all the country round; and marched in person with the rest into winter quarters in Phrygia.

(f) During these transactions, the Ætolian ambassadors arrived at Rome, where they pressed to be admitted to audience, because the truce was near expiring. Quintius, who was returned from Greece, employed all his credit in their favour. But he found the senate very much exasperated against the Ætolians. They were considered, not as common enemies, but as a people, so very untractable, that it would be to no purpose to conclude an alliance with them. After several days debate, in which they were neither allowed nor refused peace, two proposals were made to them, and left to their option: these were, either to submit entirely to the will of the senate; or to pay a thousand * talents, and to acknowledge all those for their friends or enemies, whom the Romans should consider as such. As the Ætolians desired to know particularly how far they were to submit to the will of the senate, no express answer was made them. They therefore withdrew without obtaining any thing, and

(e) Liv. l. 37. n. 8. Appian, in Syriac. p. 100.

(f) Liv. l. 37. n. 1.

* About 190000 l.

were ordered to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight.

(g) The next year, the Romans gave the command of the land armies which Acilius had before to L. Cornelius Scipio the new consul, under whom Scipio Africanus his brother had offered to serve as lieutenant. The senate and people of Rome were very desirous of trying, which of the two, Scipio or Hannibal, the conqueror or the conquered, would be of the greatest service to the army in which he should fight. The command of the fleet, which Livius had before, was given to L. Æmilius Rhegillus.

The consul being arrived in Ætolia, did not trifle away his time in besieging one town after another; but, wholly attentive to his principal view, after granting the Ætolians a six months truce, in order that they might have full time for sending a second embassy to Rome, he resolved to march his army through Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, and from thence to cross over into Asia. However, he thought it adviseable previously to inform himself how Philip might stand affected. This prince gave the army such a reception as might be expected from the most faithful and most zealous ally. At its arrival, as well as departure, he furnished it all necessary refreshments and supplies, with a truly royal munificence. In the entertainments* he made for the consul, his brother, and the chief officers of the Romans, he discovered an easy, graceful air; and such a politeness as was very pleasing to Scipio Africanus. For this great man, who excelled in every thing, was not an enemy to a certain elegance of manners and noble generosity, provided they did not degenerate into luxury.

The praise which Livy gives Scipio in this place,

(g) A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190. Liv. l. 37. n. 1—7. Appian. in Syr. p. 99 & 100.

* Multa in eo & dexteritas & humanitas visa, quæ commendabilia apud Africanum erant; vi- rum, sicut ad cætera egregium, ita à comitate, quæ sine luxuria esset, non aversum. Liv.

is also very honourable to Philip. He had at that time for his guests, the most illustrious personages in the world, a Roman consul, and at the same time general of the armies of that republic ; and not only him, but Scipio Africanus, that consul's brother. Profusion is ordinary, and in some measure pardonable on these occasions ; and yet, nothing of that kind appeared, in the reception which Philip gave to his guests. He regaled them in such a manner as became a great prince ; and with a magnificence that suited their dignity and his own, but at the same time was far from discovering the least pomp or ostentation, and was infinitely improved by the engaging carriage of the master of the feast ; and by the care he took to set before his guests with taste and decorum whatever might be most agreeable to them. *Multa in eo dexteritas & humanitas visa.* These personal qualities, in the sense of Scipio, did Philip greater honour, and gave his guests a more advantageous idea of him, than the most sumptuous profusions could have done. This excellent taste on both sides, so uncommon in princes and great men, is a fine model for persons of their high rank.

The consul and his brother, in return for the noble and generous reception which Philip had given the army, remitted him, in the name of the Roman people, who had invested him with full powers for that purpose, the remainder of the sum he was to pay them.

Philip seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to accompany the Roman army ; and to supply it with necessaries of every kind, not only in Macedonia, but as far as Thrace. His experience taught him, how much the Roman forces were superior to his own ; and his inability to shake off the yoke of obedience and submission always grating to kings, obliged him to cultivate the good opinion of a people on whom his future fate depended ; and it was wise in him to do that with a good grace, which he would otherwise in some measure have been obliged to do. For in reality,

ality, it was scarce possible for him not to retain a very strong resentment against the Romans, for the condition to which they had reduced him; for kings are never able to accustom themselves to depend on and submit to others.

(b) In the mean time the Roman fleet advanced towards Thrace, to favour the passage of the consul's troops into Asia. Polyxenides, Antiochus's admiral, who was a Rhodian exile, by a stratagem defeated Pausistratus, who commanded the Rhodian fleet, appointed to succour the Romans. He attacked him by surprize in the harbour of Samos; and burnt or sunk nine and twenty of his ships, and Pausistratus himself lost his life in this engagement. The Rhodians, so far from being discouraged by this great loss, meditated only their revenge. Accordingly, with incredible diligence they fitted out a more powerful fleet than the former. It joined that of Æmilius, and both fleets sailed towards Elea, to aid Eumenes, whom Seleucus was besieging in his capital. This succour arrived very seasonably; Eumenes being just on the point of being reduced by the enemy. Diophanes the Achæan, who had formed himself under the famous Philopœmen, obliged the enemy to raise the siege. He had entered the city with a thousand foot and an hundred horse. At the head of his own troops only, and in sight of the inhabitants who did not dare to follow him, he performed actions of such extraordinary bravery, as obliged Seleucus at length to raise the siege, and quit the country.

(i) The Rhodian fleet being afterwards detached in quest of Hannibal, who was bringing to the king that of Syria and Phœnicia, the Rhodians, singly, fought him on the coasts of Pamphylia. By the goodness of their ships, and the dexterity of their seamen, they

(b) Liv. l. 37. n. 9—11. & n. 18—22. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—103.

(i) Liv. l. 37. n. 23, 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 100. Cor. Nep. in Hannib. c. 8.

defeated that great captain, drove him into the port of Megiste near Patara ; and there blocked him up so close, as made it impossible for him to act for the service of the king.

The news of this defeat came to Antiochus, much about the time that advice was brought, that the Roman consul was advancing by hasty marches into Macedonia, and was preparing to pass the Hellespont and enter Asia. Antiochus then saw the imminent danger he was in, and made haste to take all possible methods for preventing it.

(k) He sent ambassadors to Prusias king of Bithynia, to inform him of the design which the Romans had of entering Asia. They were ordered to display in the strongest terms, the fatal consequences of that enterprize : That they were coming with a design to destroy all the kingdoms in the world, and subject them to the empire of the Romans : That after having subdued Philip and Nabis, they had resolved to attack him : That should he have the ill fortune to be overcome, the fire spreading would soon reach Bithynia : That as to Eumenes, no aid could be expected from him, as he had voluntarily submitted himself, and put on the chains of the Romans with his own hands.

These motives had made a great impression on Prusias, but the letters he received at the same time from Scipio the consul and his brother, contributed very much to remove his fears and suspicions. The latter represented to him, that it was the constant practice of the Romans, to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as sought their alliance ; and he mentioned several examples of that kind, in which he himself had been concerned. He said that in Spain several princes, who, before they were favoured with the protection of the Romans, had made a very inconsiderable figure, were since become great kings : That Masinissa, had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that

(k) Liv. l. 37. n. 25—30. Appian. in Syr. p. 101—104. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 22.

the dominions of Syphax had been given to him, whereby he was become one of the most powerful potentates of the universe. That Philip and Nabis, though vanquished by Quintius, had nevertheless been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones : That, the year before, the tribute which Philip had agreed to pay was remitted, and his son, who was an hostage in Rome, sent back to him : That as to Nabis, he would have been on the throne at that time, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the Ætolians.

The arrival of Livius, who had commanded the fleet, and whom the Romans had sent as their ambassador to Prusias, fully determined him. He made it clear to him, which party might naturally expect to be victorious ; and how much safer it would be for him to rely on the friendship of the Romans, than on that of Antiochus.

This king being disappointed of the hopes he had entertained, of bringing over Prusias to his interest, now meditated only how he might best oppose the passage of the Romans into Asia, and prevent its being made the seat of war. He imagined, that the most effectual way to do this, would be, to recover the empire of the seas, of which he had been almost dispossessed, by the loss of the two battles related above ; that then, he might employ his fleets against whom, and in what manner, he pleased ; and that it would be impossible for the enemy to transport an army into Asia by the Hellespont, or by any other way, when his fleets should be wholly employed to prevent it. Antiochus resolved therefore to hazard a second battle, and for that purpose went to Ephesus where his fleet lay. He there reviewed it, manned it to the best of his power, furnished it abundantly with all things necessary to another engagement, and sent it once more under the command of Polyxenides, in quest of the enemy, with orders to fight them. What determined his resolution was, his having received advice that a great part of the Rhodian fleet continued near Patara ;

and that king Eumenes had sailed with his whole fleet to the Chersonesus, to join the consul.

Polyxenides came up with Æmilius and the Romans near Myonesus, a maritime city of Ionia, and attacked it with as little success as before. Æmilius obtained a complete victory, and obliged him to retire to Ephesus, after having sunk or burnt twenty-nine of his ships, and taken thirteen.

(1) Antiochus was so struck with the news of this defeat, that he seemed entirely disconcerted; and, as if he had been deprived of his senses, on a sudden he took such measures as were evidently contrary to his interest. In his consternation, he sent orders for drawing his forces out of Lyfimachia and the other cities of the Hellespont, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, who were marching towards those parts, with a design of crossing into Asia; whereas, the only means that remained to hinder this, would have been to leave those troops in the places where they were. For Lyfimachia, being very strongly fortified, might have held out a long siege, and perhaps very far in the winter; which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by the want of provisions and forage; and during that interval, he might have taken measures for an accommodation with the Romans.

He not only committed a great error, in drawing his forces out of those places at a time when they were most necessary in them, but did it in so precipitate a manner, that his troops left all the ammunition and provisions (of both which he had laid up very considerable quantities) behind them in those cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and provisions in such great plenty, that they seemed to have been prepared expressly for the use of their army; and at the same time, the passage of the Hellespont was so open, that they carried over their army without the least opposition, at that very par-

(1, Liv. l. 37. n. 31. Appian. in Syr. p. 104.

where the enemy might have disputed it with them to the greatest advantage.

We have here a sensible image of what is so often mentioned in the scriptures, that when God is determined to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or ministers, of counsel, prudence, and courage. With this he makes the prophet Isaiah threaten his people. (*m*) *For behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts doth take away from Jerusalem, and from Judah, the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water.——The mighty man, and the man of war, the judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the antient.——The captain of fifty, and the honourable man, and the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator.* But a very remarkable circumstance is, that our pagan historian says here expressly, and repeats it twice, that * *God took away the king's judgment, and overthrew his reason; a punishment, says he, that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into some great calamity.* The expression is very strong; *God overthrew the king's reason.* He took from him, that is, he refused him sense, prudence, and judgment: He banished from his mind every salutary thought; he confused him and made him even averse to all the good counsel that could be given him. This is what † David besought God to do with regard to Ahitophel Absalom's minister:

(*m*) Isaiah, c. iii. v. 1, 2, 3.

* Θεῷ βλάπτοντι ἡδὴ τὰς λογισμῶς· ὅπερ ἅπασι προσίοντων ἀτυχημάτων, ἐπιγίγνεται——ὃ μὴ ἔτι τὸν ἀπλανεῖ ἐφύλαξεν ἰσὺς θεοβλαθείας

† Infatua, quæso, Domine, consilium Ahitophel.——Domini autem nutu dissipatum est consilium Ahitophel utile, UT INDUCERET DOMINUS SUPER

ABSALOM MALUM. 2 Reg. c. xv. 31. & xvii. 14. O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness, 2 Sam. c. xv. 31. For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel Ahitophel, TO THE INTENT THAT THE LORD MIGHT BRING EVIL UPON ABSALOM. Chap. xvii. v. 14.

O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Ahitophel into foolishness. The word, in the Latin version, is very strong, INFATUA: the import of which is, how prudent soever his counsels may be, make them appear foolish and stupid to Absalom; and they accordingly did appear so. *And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, the counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Ahitophel: for the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Ahitophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom.*

(n) The Romans being come into Asia, halted some time at Troy, which they considered as the cradle of their origin, and as their primitive country, from whence they set out to settle in Italy. The consul offered up sacrifices to Minerva, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed, and much after the same manner as fathers and children, who meet after a long separation. The inhabitants of this city, seeing their posterity conquerors of the west and of Africa, and laying claim to Asia as a kingdom that had been possessed by their ancestors, imagined they saw Troy rise out of its ashes in greater splendor than ever. On the other side, the Romans were infinitely delighted, to see themselves in the antient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to Rome; and to contemplate its temples and deities, which they had in common with that city.

(o) When advice was brought Antiochus that the Romans had passed the Hellespont, he began to think himself undone. He now would have been very glad to deliver himself from a war in which he had engaged rashly, and without examining seriously all its consequences. This made him resolve to send an ambassador to the Romans, to propose conditions of peace. A religious ceremony had retarded the march of the army; it having halted for several days, that were the

(n) Justin. l. 31. c. 8.

(o) Liv. l. 37. n. 33—45. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 23. Justin. l. 31. c. 7, 8. Appian. in Syr. p. 105—110.

festival days at Rome, in which the sacred shields called *Ancilia* were carried in solemn procession with great pomp. Scipio Africanus, who was one of the *Salii* or priests of Mars, whose office was to keep these shields, had not crossed the sea yet : for, being one of the *Salii*, he could not leave the place where the festival was solemnizing, so that the army was obliged to wait for him. What a pity it was, that persons of so much religion were no better illuminated, and directed their worship to such improper objects ! This delay gave the king some hopes ; for he imagined that the Romans, immediately upon their arrival in Asia, would have attacked him on a sudden. Besides, the noble character he had heard of Scipio Africanus, as his greatness of soul, his generosity and clemency to those he had conquered both in Spain and Africa, gave him hopes that this great man, now satiated with glory, would not be averse to an accommodation ; especially as he had a present to make him, which could not but be infinitely agreeable. This was his own son, a child, who had been taken at sea, as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oreum, according to Livy.

Heraclides Byzantinus, who was the spokesman in this embassy, opened his speech with saying, that the very circumstance which had frustrated all the rest of the negotiations for peace between his master and the Romans, now made him hope success in the present ; because all the difficulties which had hitherto prevented their taking effect were entirely removed : that the king, to put a stop to the complaints of his still keeping possession of any city in Europe, had abandoned Lysimachia : that as to Smyrna, Lampascus, and Alexandria of Troas, he was ready to give them up to the Romans, and any other city belonging to their allies, which they should demand of him : that he would consent to refund the Romans half the expences of this war : He concluded with exhorting them, to call to mind the uncertainty and vicissitude of human things, and not lay too great a stress on their present prosperity:

city : that they ought to rest satisfied with making Europe, whose extent was so immense, the boundaries of their empire : that if they were ambitious of joining some part of Asia to it, the king would acquiesce with their desire, provided that the limits of it were clearly settled.

The ambassador imagined, that these proposals, which seemed so advantageous, could not be rejected ; but the Romans judged differently. With regard to the expences of the war, as the king had very unjustly been the occasion of it, they were of opinion that he ought to defray the whole expence of it : They were not satisfied with his evacuating the garrisons he had in Ionia and Ætolia ; but pretended to restore all Asia to its liberty, in the same manner as they had done Greece, which could not be effected, unless the king abandoned all Asia on this side mount Taurus.

Heraclides, not being able to obtain any thing in the public audience, endeavoured, pursuant to his private instructions, particularly to conciliate Scipio Africanus. He began by assuring him, that the king would send him his son without ransom. Afterwards, being very little acquainted with Scipio's greatness of soul, and the character of the Romans, he promised him a large sum of money ; and assured him that he might entirely dispose of all things in his power if he could mediate a peace for him. To these overtures, Scipio made the following answer : “ I am not surprized to find you unacquainted both with me and
“ the Romans, as you do not even know the condition of the prince who sent you hither. If (as you
“ assert) the uncertainty of the fate of arms should
“ prompt us to grant you peace upon easier terms,
“ your sovereign ought to have kept possession of Ly-
“ simachia, in order to have shut us out of the Cher-
“ sonesus ; or else he ought to have met us in the Hel-
“ lespont, to have disputed our passage into Asia with
“ us. But, by abandoning them to us, he put the
“ yoke on his own neck ; so that all he now has to
“ do

“ do is, to submit to whatever conditions we shall
 “ think fit to prescribe. Among the several offers he
 “ makes me, I cannot but be strongly affected with
 “ that which relates to the giving me back my son :
 “ I hope the rest will not have the power to tempt
 “ me. As a private man, I can promise to preserve
 “ eternally the deepest sense of gratitude, for so pre-
 “ cious a gift as he offers me in my son : but as a pub-
 “ lic one, he must expect nothing from me. Go
 “ therefore and tell him, in my name, that the best
 “ counsel I can give him, is to lay down his arms,
 “ and not reject any articles of peace which may be
 “ proposed to him. This is the best advice I could
 “ give him as a good and faithful friend.”

Antiochus thought, that the Romans could not have prescribed harder conditions had they conquered him ; and such a peace appeared to him as fatal as the most unfortunate war. He therefore prepared for a battle, as the Romans did also on their side.

The king was encamped at Thyatira, where hearing that Scipio lay ill at Elea, he sent his son to him. This was a remedy that operated both on the body and mind, and restored both joy and health to a sick and afflicted father. After embracing him a long time in his arms. “ Go, says he to the envoys, and thank
 “ the king from me, and tell him, that at present,
 “ the only testimony I can give him of my gratitude
 “ is, to advise him not to fight, till he hears of my
 “ being arrived in the camp.” Perhaps Scipio thought, that a delay for some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done, and incline him to conclude a solid peace.

Although the superiority of Antiochus's forces, which were much more numerous than those of the Romans, might naturally induce him to venture a battle immediately ; nevertheless, the wisdom and authority of Scipio, whom he considered as his last refuge in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed

prevailed over the former consideration. He passed the river Phrygius (it is thought to be the Hermus) and posted himself near Magnesia at the foot of mount Sipylus; where he fortified his camp so strongly, as not to fear being attacked in it.

The consul followed soon after. The armies continued several days in sight, during which Antiochus did not once move out of his camp. His army consisted of seventy thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and fifty four elephants: That of the Romans was composed, in the whole, of but thirty thousand men, and sixteen elephants. The consul finding that the king lay still, summoned his council, to debate on what was to be done, in case he should persist in refusing to venture a battle. He represented that as the winter was at hand, it would be necessary, notwithstanding the severity of the season, for the soldiers to keep the field; or, if they should go into winter-quarters, to discontinue the war till the year following. The Romans never showed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion: They all cried aloud, that it would be proper to march immediately against the enemy; to take the advantage of the ardour of the troops who were ready to force the palisades, and pass the intrenchments, to attack the enemy in their camp, in case they would not quit it. There is some probability that the consul was desirous of anticipating the arrival of his brother, since his presence only would have diminished the glory of his success.

The next day, the consul, after viewing the situation of the camp, advanced with his army towards it in order of battle. The king, fearing that a longer delay would lessen the courage of his own soldiers and animate the enemy, at last marched out with his troops, and both sides prepared for a decisive battle.

Every thing was uniform enough in the consul's army, with regard to the men as well as arms. It consisted of two Roman legions, of five thousand four hundred men each, and two such bodies of Latin infantry. The Romans were posted in the center,
and

and the Latins in the two wings, the left of which extended towards the river. The first line of the center was composed of * pikemen, or *Hastati*; the second of *Principes*; and the third of *Triarii*: these properly speaking composed the main body. On the side of the right wing, to cover and sustain it, the consul had posted, on the same line, three thousand Achæan infantry and auxiliary forces of Eumenes; and, in a column, three thousand horse, eight hundred of which belonged to Eumenes, and the rest to the Romans. He posted, at the extremity of this wing, the light-armed Trallians and Cretans. It was not thought necessary to strengthen the left wing in this manner, because the rivers and banks, which were very steep, seemed a sufficient rampart. Nevertheless four squadrons of horse were posted there. To guard the camp, they left two thousand Macedonians and Thracians, who followed the army as volunteers. The sixteen elephants were posted behind the *Triarii*, by way of corps de reserve, and as a rear-guard. It was not thought proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, not only because the latter were greatly superior in number, but because the African elephants (all those in the Roman camp being of that country) were very much inferior both in size and strength to those of India, and therefore were not able to oppose them.

The king's army was more varied, on account of the different nations which composed it, and the disparity of their arms. Sixteen thousand foot, armed after the Macedonian fashion, and who composed the phalanx, formed also the main body. This phalanx was divided into ten bodies, each of fifty men in front by thirty two deep; and two elephants were posted in each of the intervals which separated them. It was thus formed the principal strength of the army. The sight only of the elephants inspired terror. Their size, which in itself was very remarkable, was increased

* These are the names of the which the infantry of the Roman three different bodies of troops of legions consisted.

by the ornament of their heads, and their plumes of feathers which were embellished with gold, silver, purple, and ivory ; vain ornaments, which invite an enemy by the hopes of spoils, and are no defence to an army. The elephants carried towers on their backs, in which were four fighting men, besides the leader or guide. To the right of this phalanx, was drawn up in a column, part of the cavalry, fifteen hundred Asiatic Gauls, three thousand cuirassiers armed cap-a-pee, and a thousand horse, the flower of the Medes and other neighbouring nations. A body of sixteen elephants were posted next in files. A little beyond was the king's regiment, composed of the Argyraspides, so called, from their arms being of silver. After them twelve hundred Dahæ, all bowmen ; to whom two thousand five hundred Mysians were joined. Then three thousand light-armed Cretans and Trallians. The right wing was closed by four thousand slingers and archers, half Cyrteans and half Elymæans. The left wing was drawn up much after the same manner, except that, before part of the cavalry, the chariots armed with scythes were posted ; with the camels mounted by Arabian bowmen, whose thin swords (in order that the riders might reach down from the back of these beasts) were six foot long. The king commanded the right ; Seleucus his son, and Antipater his nephew the left ; and three lieutenant-generals the main body.

A thick fog rising in the morning, the sky grew so dark, that it was not possible for the king's soldiers to distinguish one another, and act in concert on account of their great extent ; and the damp occasioned by this fog, softened very much the bowstrings, the slings, and * thongs or straps which were used for throwing javelins. The Romans did not suffer near so much, because they scarce used any but heavy arms, swords and javelins : and as the front of their army was of less extent, they could the easier see one another.

* Amenta.

The chariots armed with scythes, which Antiochus had flattered himself would terrify the enemy, and throw them into confusion, first occasioned the defeat of his own forces. King Eumenes, who knew both where their strength and weakness lay, opposed to them the Cretan archers, the slingers, and horse who discharged javelins, commanding them to charge them, not in a body, but in small platoons; and to pour on them from every quarter, darts, stones, and javelins; shouting as loud as possible all the while. The horses, frightened at these shouts, run away with the chariots, scour the field on all sides, and turn against their own troops, as well as the camels. That empty terror thus removed, they fight hand to hand.

But this soon proved the destruction of the king's army: for the troops which were posted near these chariots, having been broke and put to flight by their disorder, left every part naked and defenceless, even to the very cuirassiers. The Roman cavalry vigorously charging the latter, it was not possible for them to stand the attack, so that they were broke immediately, many of them being killed on the spot, because the weight of their arms would not permit them to fly. The whole left wing was routed, which spread an alarm to the main body, formed by the phalanx, and threw it into disorder. And now the Roman legions charged it advantageously; the soldiers who composed the phalanx not having an opportunity to use their long pikes, because those who fled had taken refuge amongst them, and prevented their fighting, whilst the Romans poured their javelins upon them from all sides. The elephants drawn up in the intervals of the phalanx were of no service to it. The Roman soldiers, who had been used to fight in the wars of Africa against those animals, had learnt how to avoid their impetuosity, either by piercing their sides with their javelins, or by hamstringing them with their swords. The first ranks of the phalanx were therefore put into disorder; and the Romans were upon the point of surrounding

rounding the rear-ranks, when advice was brought that their left wing was in great danger.

Antiochus, who had observed that the flanks of this left wing were quite uncovered, and that only four squadrons of horse had been posted near it, as supposing it to be sufficiently defended by the river, had charged it with his auxiliary forces and his heavy-armed horse, not only in front but in flank; because that the four squadrons, being unable to withstand the charge of all the enemy's cavalry, had retired towards the main body, and left open their ground near the river. The Roman cavalry having been put into disorder, the infantry soon followed it, and were driven as far as the camp. Marcus Æmilius, a military tribune, had staid to guard the camp. Seeing the Romans flying towards it, he marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and reproached them with their cowardise and ignominious flight. But this was not all, for he commanded his soldiers to sheathe their swords in all they met, who refused to face about against the enemy. This order being given so seasonably, and immediately put in execution, had the desired effect. The stronger fear prevailed over the less. Those who were flying, first halt, and afterwards return to the battle. And now Æmilius, with his body of troops which consisted of two thousand brave, well disciplined men, opposes the king, who was pursuing vigorously those who fled. Attalus, the brother of Eumenes, having quitted the right wing, on his receiving advice that the left was defeated, flew to it very seasonably with two hundred horse. Antiochus, being now charged on every side, turned his horse, and retired. Thus the Romans, having defeated the two wings, advance forward over the heaps of slain, as far as the king's camp, and plunder it.

(p) It was observed, that the manner in which the king drew up his phalanx, was one of the causes of his losing the battle. In this body the chief strength of

(p) Appian.

his

his army consisted, and it had hitherto been thought invincible. It was composed entirely of veteran, stout, and well-disciplined soldiers. To enable his phalanx to do him greater service, he ought to have given it less depth, and a greater front; whereas, in drawing them up thirty-two deep, half of them were of no use; and filled up the rest of the front with new-raised troops without courage and experience, who consequently could not be depended on. However, this was the order in which Philip and Alexander used to draw up their phalanx.

There fell this day, as well in the battle as in the pursuit and the plunder of the camp, fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse: fourteen hundred were taken prisoners, with fifteen elephants, with their guides. The Romans lost but three hundred foot, and twenty-four horse. Twenty-five of Eumenes's troops were killed. By this victory the Romans acquired all the cities of Asia minor, which now submitted voluntarily to them.

Antiochus withdrew to Sardis, with as many of his forces who had escaped the slaughter as he could assemble. From that city he marched to Celænæ in Phrygia, whither he heard that his son Seleucus had fled. He found him there, and both passed mount Taurus with the utmost diligence, in order to reach Syria.

Neither Hannibal nor Scipio Africanus were in this battle. The former was blocked up by the Rhodians in Pamphylia, with the Syrian fleet; and the latter lay ill in Elea.

(9) The instant Antiochus was arrived at Antioch, he sent Antipater his brother's son, and Xeuxis who had governed Lydia and Phrygia under him, to the Romans, in order to sue for peace. They found the consul at Sardis, with Scipio Africanus his brother,

(9) Liv. l. 37. n. 45—49. Polyb. in excerpt. legat. c. 24. Appian. in Syr. p. 110—113.

who was recovered. They applied themselves to the latter, who presented them to the consul. They did not endeavour to excuse Antiochus in any manner; and only sued humbly, in his name, for peace. "You have always, said he to them, pardoned with greatness of mind, the kings and nations you have conquered. How much more should you be induced to do this, after a victory which gives you the empire of the universe? Henceforward, being become equal to the gods, lay aside all animosity against mortals, and make the good of human race your sole study for the future."

The council was summoned upon this embassy, and after having seriously examined the affair, the ambassadors were called in. Scipio Africanus spoke, and acquainted them with what had been resolved. He said, that as the Romans did not suffer themselves to be depressed by adversity, on the other side they were never too elate from prosperity: That therefore they would not insist upon any other demands, than those they had made before the battle: That Antiochus should evacuate all Asia on this side mount Taurus: That he should pay all the expences of the war, which were computed at fifteen * thousand Eubœan talents, and the payments were settled as follows; five hundred talents down; two thousand five hundred when the senate should have ratified the treaty, and the rest in twelve years, a thousand talents every year: That he should pay Eumenes the four hundred talents he owed him; and the residue of a payment, on account of corn with which the king of Pergamus his father had furnished the king of Syria; and that he should deliver twenty hostages, to be chosen by the Romans. He added, "The Romans cannot persuade themselves, that a prince who gives Hannibal refuge, is sincerely desirous of peace. They therefore de-

* Fifteen thousand Attic talents amount to about two millions, two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. Those of Eubœa, according to Budæus, were something less.

“mand that Hannibal be delivered up to them, as
 “also Thoas the Ætolian, who was the chief agent
 “in fomenting this war.” All these conditions were
 accepted.

L. Cotta was sent to Rome with the ambassadors of Antiochus, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of this negotiation, and to obtain the ratification of it. Eumenes set out at the same time for Rome, whither the ambassadors of the cities of Asia went also. Soon after the five hundred talents were paid the consul at Ephesus, hostages were given for the remainder of the payment, and to secure the other articles of the treaty. Antiochus, one of the king's sons, was included in the hostages. He afterwards ascended the throne, and was surnamed Epiphanes. The instant Hannibal and Thoas received advice that a treaty was negotiating, concluding that they should be sacrificed by it, they provided for their own safety, by retiring before it was concluded.

The Ætolians had before sent ambassadors to Rome, to solicit an accommodation. To succeed the better, they had the assurance to spread a report in Rome by a knavish artifice unworthy the character they bore, that the two Scipios had been seized and carried off at an interview, and that Antiochus had defeated their army. Afterwards, as if this report had been true, (and they declared impudently that it was so) they assumed a haughty tone in the senate, and seemed to demand a peace rather than sue for it. This showed they were not acquainted with the genius and character of the Romans, who had reason to be offended at them on other accounts. They therefore were commanded to leave Rome that very day, and Italy in a fortnight. The Romans received letters from the consul soon after, by which it appeared that this report was entirely groundless.

(r) The Romans had just before raised M. Fulvius

(r) A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. 37. n. 47—50. Liv. l. 37. n. 52—59. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. c. 25. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso to the consulate. In the division of the provinces, Ætolia fell by lot to Fulvius, and Asia to Manlius.

The arrival of Cotta at Rome, who brought the particulars of the victory and treaty of peace, filled the whole city with joy. Prayers and sacrifices were appointed, by way of thanksgiving, for three days.

After this religious solemnity was over, the senate immediately gave audience, first to Eumenes, and afterwards to the ambassadors. At this audience, one of the most important affairs that had ever been brought before the senate, and which concerned all the Grecian cities of Asia, was to be considered. It is well known that liberty in general is precious and dear to all men. But the Greeks in particular were inexpressibly jealous of theirs. They considered it as an estate of inheritance, which had devolved to them from their ancestors; and as a peculiar privilege that distinguished them from all other nations. And, indeed, the least attention to the Grecian history will show, that liberty was the great motive and principle of all their enterprizes and wars; and in a manner the soul of their laws, customs, and whole frame of government. Philip and Alexander his son gave the first blows to it, and their successors had exceedingly abridged, and almost extirpated it. The Romans had a little before restored it to all the cities of Greece, after having reduced Philip king of Macedonia. The cities of Asia, after the defeat of Antiochus, were in hopes of the same indulgence. The Rhodians had sent ambassadors to Rome, principally to solicit that grace for the Greeks of Asia; and it was immediately the interest of king Eumenes to oppose it. This is the subject on which the senate are now to debate, and of which the decision held all Europe and Asia in suspense.

Eumenes being first admitted to audience, he opened his speech with a short complement to the senate, for the glorious protection they had granted him, in free-
ing

ing himself and his brother, when besieged in Pergamus, (the capital of his kingdom,) by Antiochus; and in securing his kingdom against the unjust enterprizes of that prince. He afterwards congratulated the Romans on the happy success of their arms both by sea and land; and on the famous victory they had just before gained, by which they had driven Antiochus out of Europe, as well as all Asia situated on this side of mount Taurus. He added, that as to himself and the service he had endeavoured to do the Romans, he chose rather to have those things related by their generals, than by himself. The modesty of his behaviour was universally applauded; but he was desired to specify the particulars in which the senate and people of Rome could oblige him; and what he had to ask of them, assuring him, that he might rely on their good inclinations towards him. He replied, that if the choice of a recompence was proposed to him by others, and he were permitted to consult the senate, he then would be so free, as to ask that venerable body, what answer it would be proper for him to make, in order that he might not insist upon immoderate and unreasonable demands; but that, as it was from the senate that he expected to be gratified in all he should require, he thought it most adviseable to depend entirely on their generosity. He was again desired to explain himself clearly and without ambiguity. In this mutual contest between politeness and respect, Eumenes, not being able to prevail with himself to be outdone, quitted the assembly. The senate still persisted in their first resolution; and the reason they gave for it was, that the king knew what it best suited his interest to ask. He therefore was brought in again, and obliged to explain himself.

He then made the following speech. "I should
 " have still continued silent, did I not know that
 " the Rhodian ambassadors, whom you will soon ad-
 " mit to audience, will make such demands as are
 " directly contrary to my interest. They will plead,
 " in

“ in your presence, the cause of all the Grecian cities
 “ of Asia, and pretend that they all ought to be de-
 “ clared free. Now can it be doubted that their in-
 “ tention in this is, to deprive me, not only of those
 “ cities which will be delivered, but even of such as
 “ were antiently my tributaries ; and that their view
 “ is, by so signal a service, to subject them effectually
 “ to themselves, under the specious title of confede-
 “ rate cities ? They will not fail to expatiate strongly
 “ on their own disinterestedness ; and to say, that
 “ they do not speak for themselves, but merely for
 “ your glory and reputation. You therefore will cer-
 “ tainly not suffer yourselves to be imposed upon by such
 “ discourse ; and are far from designing, either to disco-
 “ ver an affected inequality towards your allies, by hum-
 “ bling some and raising others in an immoderate de-
 “ gree ; or to allow better conditions to those who
 “ carried arms against you, than to such as have al-
 “ ways been your friends and allies. With regard to
 “ my particular pretensions, and my personal interest,
 “ these I can easily give up ; but as to your kindness,
 “ and the marks of friendship with which you have
 “ been pleased to honour me, I must confess that I
 “ cannot, without pain, see others triumph over me
 “ in that particular. This is the most precious part
 “ of the inheritance I received from my father, who
 “ was the first potentate, in all Greece and Asia,
 “ that had the advantage of concluding an alliance,
 “ and of joining in friendship with you ; and who cul-
 “ tivated it with an inviolable constancy and fidelity
 “ to his latest breath. He was far from confining
 “ himself in those points to meer protestations of
 “ kindness and good-will. In all the wars you made
 “ in Greece, whether by sea or land, he constantly
 “ followed your standards, and aided you with all
 “ his forces, with such a zeal as none of your allies
 “ can boast. It may even be said, that his attach-
 “ ment to your interest, in the last and strongest proof
 “ he gave of his fidelity, was the cause of his death :

“ for the fire and vigour with which he exhorted the
 “ Bœotians to engage in alliance with you, occasioned
 “ the fatal accident that brought him to his end in a
 “ few days. I always thought it my duty to tread
 “ in his steps, firmly persuaded that nothing could
 “ be more honourable. It indeed was not possible
 “ for me to exceed him in zeal and attachment for
 “ your service; but then the posture of affairs, and
 “ the war against Antiochus, have furnished me
 “ more opportunities than my father had, of giving
 “ you proofs of this. That prince, who was very
 “ powerful in Europe as well as Asia, offered me his
 “ daughter in marriage: he engaged himself to reco-
 “ ver all those cities which had revolted from me: he
 “ promised to add considerable countries to my domi-
 “ nions, upon condition that I should join with him
 “ against you. I will not assume any honour to my
 “ self from not accepting offers which tended to alie-
 “ nate me from your friendship; and indeed, how
 “ would it have been possible for me to do this? I
 “ will only take notice of what I thought myself
 “ bound to do in your favour, as one who was your
 “ antient friend and ally. I assisted your generals
 “ both by sea and land, with a far greater number of
 “ troops, as well as a much larger quantity of provi-
 “ sions, than any of your allies: I was present in all
 “ your naval engagements, and these were many;
 “ and have spared myself no toils, nor dangers. I
 “ suffered the hardships of a siege (the most grievous
 “ condition of war) and was blocked up in Perga-
 “ mus, exposed every moment to the loss of my
 “ crown and life. Having disengaged myself from
 “ this siege, whilst Antiochus on one side, and Seleu-
 “ cus his son on the other, were still encamped in my
 “ dominions; neglecting entirely my own interest, I
 “ sailed with my whole fleet to the Hellespont, to
 “ meet Scipio your consul, purposely to assist him in
 “ passing it. I never quitted the consul from his ar-
 “ rival in Asia; not a soldier in your camp has ex-
 “ erted

“ erted himself more than my brother and myself.
 “ I have been present in every action whether of foot
 “ or horse. In the last engagement, I defended the
 “ post which the consul assigned me. I will not ask
 “ whether, in this particular, any of your allies de-
 “ serve to be compared with me. One thing I will
 “ be so confident as to assert, that I may put myself
 “ in parallel with any of those kings or states, on
 “ whom you have bestowed the highest marks of
 “ your favour. Masinissa had been your enemy be-
 “ fore he became your ally. He did not come over
 “ to you with powerful aids, and, at a time when he
 “ enjoyed the full possession of his kingdom; but an
 “ exile, driven from his kingdom; plundered of all
 “ his possessions, and deprived of all his forces, he
 “ fled to your camp, with a squadron of horse, in
 “ order to seek an asylum as well as aid, in his mis-
 “ fortunes. Nevertheless, because he has since served
 “ you faithfully, against Syphax and the Carthagi-
 “ nians, you have not only restored him to the
 “ throne of his ancestors; but, by bestowing on him
 “ great part of Syphax’s kingdom, you have made
 “ him one of the most powerful monarchs of Africa.
 “ What therefore may we not expect from your li-
 “ berality, we, who have ever been your allies, and
 “ never your enemies? My father, my brothers, and
 “ myself, have, on all occasions, drawn our sword
 “ in your cause, both by sea and land; not only in
 “ Asia, but at a great distance from our native coun-
 “ try, in Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and Ætolia, during
 “ the wars against Philip, Antiochus, and the Æto-
 “ lians. Perhaps some one may ask, what are your
 “ pretensions? Since you force me to explain myself,
 “ they are as follows. If, in repulsing Antiochus
 “ beyond mount Taurus, your intention was to seize
 “ upon that country in order to unite it to your em-
 “ pire, I could not wish for better neighbours, none
 “ being more able to secure my dominions. But if
 “ you are resolved to resign it, and to recal your

“ armies

“armies from thence, I dare presume to say, that
“none of your allies deserve advantages from you
“better than myself. But (some may observe) it is
“great and glorious to deliver cities from slavery,
“and to restore them their liberty. I grant it, pro-
“vided they had never exercised hostilities against you.
“But then, if they have been so far attached to
“Antiochus’s interest, will it not be much more
“worthy of your wisdom and justice, to bestow your
“favours on allies who have served you faithfully,
“than on enemies who have used their endeavours to
“destroy you?”

The senate was exceedingly pleased with the king’s harangue; and showed evidently, that they were determined to do every thing for him in their power.

The Rhodians were afterwards admitted to audience. The person who spoke in their name, after repeating the origin of their amity with the Romans, and the services they had done them, first in the war against Philip, and afterwards in that against Antiochus:
“Nothing, says he (directing himself to the senators)
“grieves us so much at this time, as to find ourselves
“obliged to engage in a dispute with Eumenes, that
“prince, for whom of all princes, both our republic
“and ourselves have the most faithful and most cordial respect. The circumstance which divides and
“separates us on this occasion, does not proceed from
“a disparity of minds, but from a difference of conditions. We are free, and Eumenes is a king. It
“is natural that we, being a free people, should
“plead for the liberty of others; and that kings
“should endeavour to make all things pay homage to
“their sovereign sway. However this be, the cir-
“cumstance which perplexes us on this occasion, is,
“not so much the affair in itself, which seems to be
“of such a nature that you cannot be very much di-
“vided in opinion about it, as the regard we ought
“to show to so august a prince as Eumenes. If there
“was no other way of acknowledging the important

“ services of a king, your confederate and ally, but
 “ in subjecting free cities to his power, you then
 “ might be doubtful; from the fear you might be
 “ under, either of not discovering gratitude enough
 “ towards a prince who is your friend; or of renoun-
 “ cing your principles, and the glory you have acquired
 “ in the war against Philip, by restoring all the Gre-
 “ cian cities to their liberty. But fortune has put
 “ you in such a condition, as not to fear either of
 “ those inconveniencies. The immortal gods be
 “ praised, the victory you have so lately gained, by
 “ which you acquire no less riches than glory, enables
 “ you to acquit yourselves easily of what you call a
 “ debt. Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, all Pisidia,
 “ Chersonesus, and the country contiguous to it, are
 “ subjected by you. One of these provinces is alone
 “ capable of enlarging considerably the dominions of
 “ Eumenes; but all of them together will equal him
 “ to the most powerful kings. You therefore may,
 “ at one and the same time, recompence very largely
 “ your allies, and not depart from the maxims which
 “ form the glory of your empire. The same motive
 “ prompted you to march against Philip and Antio-
 “ chus. As the cause is the same, the like issue is
 “ expected; not only because you yourselves have al-
 “ ready set the example, but because your honour re-
 “ quires it. Others engage in war, merely to dis-
 “ possess their neighbours of some country, some city,
 “ fortress, or sea-port; but you, O Romans, never
 “ draw the sword from such motives: when you
 “ fight, it is for glory; and it is this circumstance in-
 “ spires all nations with a reverence and awe for your
 “ name and empire, almost equal to that which is
 “ paid the gods. The business is to preserve that
 “ glory. You have undertaken to rescue, from the
 “ bondage of kings, and to restore to its antient li-
 “ berty, a nation famous for its antiquity; and still
 “ more renowned for its glorious actions, and its ex-
 “ quisite taste for the polite arts and sciences. It is
 “ the

“ the whole nation you have taken under your pro-
 “ tection, and you have promised it them to the end
 “ of time. The cities situated in Greece itself, are
 “ not more Grecian, than the colonies they settled
 “ in Asia. A change of country has not wrought any
 “ alteration in our origin or manners. All the Greek
 “ cities in Asia have endeavoured to rival our ances-
 “ tors and founders, in virtue and in knowledge.
 “ Many persons in this assembly have seen the cities
 “ of Greece and those of Asia: the only difference
 “ is, that we are situated at a farther distance from
 “ Rome. If a difference in climate should change
 “ the nature and disposition of men, the inhabitants
 “ of Marseilles, surrounded as they are with ignorant
 “ and barbarous nations, should necessarily have long
 “ since degenerated; and yet we are informed that
 “ you have as great a regard for them, as if they lived
 “ in the center of Greece. And indeed, they have
 “ retained, not only the sound of the language, the
 “ dress, and the whole exterior of the Greeks; but
 “ have also preserved still more their manners, laws,
 “ and genius, and all these pure and uncorrupted by
 “ their correspondence with the neighbouring nations.
 “ Mount Taurus is now the boundary of your empire.
 “ Every country on this side of it, ought not to appear
 “ remote from you. Wherever you have carried
 “ your arms, convey thither also the genius and form
 “ of your government. Let the Barbarians, who are
 “ accustomed to slavery, continue under the empire of
 “ kings, since it is grateful to them. The Greeks,
 “ in the mediocrity of their present condition, think it
 “ glorious to imitate your exalted sentiments. Born
 “ and nurtured in liberty, they know you will not
 “ deem it a crime in them to be jealous of it, as you
 “ yourselves are so. Formerly, their own strength
 “ was sufficient to secure empire to them; but now,
 “ they implore the gods that it may be enjoyed for
 “ ever by those people, with whom they have placed
 “ it. All they desire is, that you would be pleased to
 “ protect

“ protect, by the power of your arms, their liberties,
 “ as they are now no longer able to defend them by
 “ their own. But, says somebody, some of those
 “ cities have favoured Antiochus. Had not the others
 “ favoured Philip also; and the Tarentines, Pyrrhus?
 “ To cite but one people, Carthage, your enemy as
 “ well as rival, enjoys its liberties and laws. Consider,
 “ O Romans, the engagements which this example lays
 “ you under. Will you indulge to Eumenes’s ambi-
 “ tion (I beg his pardon for the expression) what
 “ you refused to your own just indignation? As for
 “ us Rhodians, in this, as well as in all the wars
 “ which you have carried on in our countries, we
 “ have endeavoured to behave as good and faithful
 “ allies; and you are to judge whether we have really
 “ been such. Now we enjoy peace, we are so free
 “ as to give you a counsel which must necessarily be
 “ glorious to you. If you follow it, it will demon-
 “ strate to the universe, that however nobly you ob-
 “ tain victories, you yet know how to make a nobler
 “ use of them.”

It was impossible to forbear applauding this speech,
 and it was thought worthy of the Roman grandeur.
 The senate found itself on this occasion divided and
 opposed by different sentiments and duties, of whose
 importance and justice they were sensible, but which,
 at the same time, it was difficult to reconcile on this
 occasion. On one side, gratitude with regard to the
 services of a king, who had adhered to them with in-
 violable zeal and fidelity, made a strong impression on
 their minds: on the other, they earnestly wished to
 have it thought, that the sole view of their undertak-
 ing this war was, to restore the Grecian cities to their
 liberty. It must be confessed, that the motives on
 both sides were exceedingly strong. The restoring of
 every part of Greece to its liberties and laws, after
 Philip’s defeat, had acquired the Romans a reputation
 infinitely superior to all other triumphs. But then it
 would be dangerous to displease so powerful a prince as
 Eumenes ;

Eumenes ; and it was the interest of the Romans to bring over other kings to their side, by the attractive charms of advantage. However, the wisdom of the senate knew how to conciliate these different duties.

Antiochus's ambassadors were brought in after those of Rhodes, and all they requested of the senate was, to confirm the peace which L. Scipio had granted them. They complied with their desire, and accordingly, some days after, it also was ratified in the assembly of the people.

The ambassadors of the Asiatic cities were likewise heard, and the answer made them was, that the senate would dispatch, pursuant to their usual custom, ten commissioners to enquire into, and settle the affairs of Asia. It was told them in general, that Lycaonia, the two Phrygias, and Mysia, should thenceforward be subject to king Eumenes. The Rhodians were allotted the possession of Lycia, and that part of Caria which lies nearest to Rhodes, and part of Pisidia. In both these distributions, such cities were excepted as enjoyed their freedom, before the battle fought against Antiochus. It was enacted, that the rest of the cities of Asia, which had paid tribute to Attalus, should also pay it to Eumenes ; and that such as had been tributaries to Antiochus, should be free and exempt from contributions of every kind.

Eumenes and the Rhodians seemed very well satisfied with this new regulation. The latter requested, as a favour, that the inhabitants of Soles, a city of Cilicia, descended originally, as well as themselves, from the people of Argos, might be restored to their liberty. The senate, after consulting Antiochus's ambassadors on that head, informed the Rhodians of the violent opposition which those ambassadors had made to their request ; because Soles, as situated beyond mount Taurus, was not included in the Treaty. However, that if they imagined the honour of Rhodes was concerned in this demand, they would again attempt to

overcome their repugnance. The Rhodians, returning the most hearty thanks once more to the Romans, for the great favours they vouchsafed them, answered, that it was far from their intention to interrupt the peace in any manner, and retired highly satisfied.

The Romans decreed a triumph to Æmilius Regillus, who had gained a victory at sea over the admiral of Antiochus's fleet; and still more justly to L. Scipio, who had conquered the king in person. He assumed the surname of Asiaticus, that his titles might not be inferior to those of his brother, upon whom that of Africanus had been conferred.

Thus ended the war against Antiochus, which was not of long duration, cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed very much to the aggrandizing of their empire. But, at the same time, this victory contributed also in another manner, to the decay and ruin of that very empire, by introducing into Rome, by the wealth it brought into it, a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures; for it is from this victory over Antiochus, and the conquest of Asia, that (s) Pliny dates the depravity and corruption of manners in the republic of Rome, and the fatal changes which ensued it. Asia * vanquished by the Roman arms, afterwards vanquished Rome by its vices. Foreign wealth extinguished in that city a love for the antient poverty and simplicity, in which its strength and honour had consisted. † Luxury, that in a manner entered Rome in triumph with the superb spoils of

(s) Plin. l. 13. c. 3.

* Armis vicit, vitiis victus est. *Senec. de Alex.*

† Prima peregrinos obscœna pecunia mores
Intulit, & turpi fregerunt secula luxu
Divitiæ molles——

Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit——

Sævior armis

Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

Juven. l. 2. Satyr. 6.

Asia,

Asia, brought with her in her train irregularities and crimes of every kind, made greater havock in the city than the mightiest armies could have done, and in that manner avenged the conquered globe.

Reflexion on the conduct of the Romans with regard to the Grecian states, and the kings both of Europe and Asia.

THE reader begins to discover, in the events before related, one of the principal characteristics of the Romans, which will soon determine the fate of all the states of Greece, and produce an almost general change in the universe, I mean, a spirit of sovereignty and dominion. This characteristic does not display itself at first in its full extent; it reveals itself only by degrees; and it is but by insensible progressions, which at the same time are rapid enough, that we see it carried at last to its greatest height.

It must be confessed, that this people, on certain occasions, shew such a moderation and disinterestedness, as (to consider them only from their outside) exceed every thing we meet with in history, and to which it seems inconsistent to refuse praise. Was there ever a more delightful or more glorious day, than that in which the Romans, after having carried on a long and dangerous war; after crossing seas, and exhausting their treasures; caused a herald to proclaim, in a general assembly, that the Roman people restored all the cities to their liberty; and desired to reap no other fruit by their victory, than the noble pleasure of doing good to nations, the bare remembrance of whose antient glory sufficed to endear them to the Romans? The description of that immortal day can hardly be read without tears, and without being affected with a kind of enthusiasm of esteem and admiration.

Had this deliverance of the Grecian states proceeded merely from a principle of generosity, void of all interested motives; had the whole tenor of the conduct of the Romans been of the same nature with such

exalted sentiments ; nothing could possibly have been more august, or more capable of doing honour to a nation. But if we penetrate ever so little beyond this glaring outside, we soon perceive, that this specious moderation of the Romans was entirely founded upon a profound policy ; wise indeed, and prudent, according to the ordinary rules of government, but, at the same time, very remote from that noble disinterestedness, so highly extolled on the present occasion. It may be affirmed, that the Grecians then abandoned themselves to a stupid joy ; fondly imagining that they were really free, because the Romans declared them so.

Greece, in the times I am now speaking of, was divided between two powers, I mean the Grecian republics and Macedonia, and they were always engaged in war ; the former, to preserve the remains of their ancient liberty ; and the latter, to complete their subjection. The Romans, being perfectly well acquainted with this state of Greece, were sensible, that they needed not be under any apprehensions from those little republics, which were grown weak through length of years, by intestine feuds, mutual jealousies, and the wars they had been forced to support against foreign powers. But Macedonia, which was possessed of well-disciplined troops, inured to all the toils of war, which had continually in view the glory of its former monarchs ; which had formerly extended its conquests to the extremities of the globe ; which still harboured an ardent, though chimerical desire of attaining universal empire ; and which had a kind of natural alliance with the kings of Egypt and Syria, sprung from the same origin, and united by the common interests of monarchy : Macedonia, I say, gave just alarms to Rome, which, from the ruin of Carthage, had no obstacles left with regard to their ambitious designs, but those powerful kingdoms that shared the rest of the world between them, and especially Macedonia, as it lay nearest to Italy.

To

To balance therefore the power of Macedon, and to dispossess Philip of the aids he flattered himself he should receive from the Greeks, which, indeed, had they united all their forces with his, in order to oppose this common enemy, would perhaps have made him invincible with regard to the Romans; in this view, I say, this latter people declared loudly in favour of those republics; made it their glory to take them under their protection, and that with no other design, in outward appearance, than to defend them against their oppressors; and farther, to attach them by a still stronger tie, they hung out to them a specious bait, (as a reward for their fidelity) I mean liberty, of which all the republics in question were inexpressibly jealous; and which the Macedonian monarchs had perpetually disputed with them.

The bait was artfully prepared, and swallowed very greedily by the generality of the Greeks, whose views penetrated no farther. But the most judicious and most clear-sighted among them discovered the danger that lay concealed beneath this charming bait; and accordingly they exhorted the people from time to time, in their public assemblies, to beware of this cloud that was gathering in the west; and which, changing on a sudden into a dreadful tempest, would break like thunder over their heads, to their utter destruction.

Nothing could be more gentle and equitable than the conduct of the Romans in the beginning. They acted with the utmost moderation towards such states and nations as addressed them for protection; they succoured them against their enemies; took the utmost pains in terminating their differences, and in suppressing all troubles which arose amongst them; and did not demand the least recompense for all these services done their allies. By this means their authority gained strength daily, and prepared the nations for entire subjection.

And indeed, upon pretence of offering them their good offices, of entering into their interests, and of re-

conciling them, they rendered themselves the sovereign arbiters of those whom they had restored to liberty ; and whom they now considered, in some measure, as their freedmen. They used to depute commissioners to them, to enquire into their complaints, to weigh and examine the reasons on both sides, and to decide their quarrels : but when the articles were of such a nature, that there was no possibility of reconciling them on the spot, they invited them to send their deputies to Rome. But afterwards they used to summon those who refused to be reconciled ; obliged them to plead their cause before the senate, and even to appear in person there. From arbiters and mediators being become supreme judges, they soon assumed a magisterial tone, looked upon their decrees as irrevocable decisions, were greatly offended when the most implicit obedience was not paid to them, and gave the name of rebellion to a second resistance : Thus there arose, in the Roman senate, a tribunal, which judged all nations and kings from which there was no appeal. This tribunal, at the end of every war, determined the rewards and punishments due to all parties. They dispossessed the vanquished nations of part of their territories, in order to bestow them on their allies, by which they did two things, from which they reaped a double advantage ; for they thereby engaged in the interest of Rome, such kings as were no ways formidable to them ; and weakened others whose friendship the Romans could not expect, and whose arms they had reason to dread.

We shall hear one of the chief magistrates in the republic of the Achæans inveigh strongly in a public assembly, against this unjust usurpation, and ask by what title the Romans are empowered to assume so haughty an ascendant over them ; whether their republic was not as free and independant as that of Rome ; by what right the latter pretended to force the Achæans to account for their conduct ; whether they would be pleased, should the Achæans, in their turn,

officially pretend to enquire into their affairs; and whether matters ought not to be on the same foot on both sides? All these reflections were very reasonable, just, and unanswerable; and the Romans had no advantage in the question but force.

They acted in the same manner, and their politics were the same, with regard to their treatment of kings. They first won over to their interest such among them as were the weakest, and consequently the least formidable: they gave them the title of allies, whereby their persons were rendered in some measure sacred and inviolable; and was a kind of safeguard against other kings more powerful than themselves: they increased their revenues and enlarged their territories, to let them see what they might expect from their protection. It was this raised the kingdom of Pergamus to so exalted a pitch of grandeur.

After this, the Romans invaded upon different pretences, those great potentates, who divided Europe and Asia. And, how haughtily did they treat them, even before they had conquered! A powerful king, confined within a narrow circle by a private man of Rome, was obliged to make his answer before he quitted it: how imperious was this! But then, how did they treat vanquished kings? They command them to deliver up their children, and the heirs to their crown, as hostages and pledges of their fidelity and good behaviour; oblige them to lay down their arms; forbid them to declare war, or conclude any alliance without first obtaining their leave; banish them to the other side of mountains; and leave them, in strictness of speech, only an empty title and a vain shadow of royalty, divested of all its rights and advantages.

We are not to doubt, but that providence had decreed to the Romans the sovereignty of the world, and the scriptures had prophesied their future grandeur: but they were strangers to those divine oracles; and besides, the bare prediction of their conquests was no justification with regard to them. Although it be
difficult

difficult to affirm, and still more so to prove, that this people had, from their first rise, formed a plan, in order to conquer and subject all nations; it cannot be denied but that, if we examine their whole conduct attentively, it will appear that they acted as if they had a fore-knowledge of this; and that a kind of instinct determined them to conform to it in all things.

But be this as it will, we see by the event, to what this so much boasted lenity and moderation of the Romans was confined. Enemies to the liberty of all nations; having the utmost contempt for kings and monarchy; looking upon the whole universe as their prey, they grasped with insatiable ambition, the conquest of the whole world: they seized indiscriminately all provinces and kingdoms, and extended their empire over all nations; in a word, they prescribed no other limits to their vast projects, but those which deserts and seas made it impossible to pass.

SECT. VIII. *Fulvius the consul subdues the Ætolians. The Spartans are cruelly treated by their exiles. Manlius, the other consul, conquers the Asiatic Gauls. Antiochus, in order to pay the tribute due to the Romans, plunders a temple in Elymais. That monarch is killed. Explication of Daniel's prophecy concerning Antiochus.*

(t) **D**URING the expedition of the Romans in Asia, some emotions had happened in Greece. Amynder, by the aid of the Ætolians, was restored to his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garrisons that held them for king Philip. He deputed some ambassadors to the senate of Rome; and others into Asia to the two Scipios, who were then at Ephesus, after their signal victory over Antiochus, to excuse his having employed the arms of the Ætolians against Philip, and also to make his complaints of that prince.

(e) A. M. 3815. Ant. J. C. 189. Liv. l. 38. n. 1—11. Polyb. in excerpt. leg. c. 26—28.

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The Ætolians had likewise undertaken some enterprises against Philip, in which they had met with tolerable success: but, when they heard of Antiochus's defeat, and found that the ambassadors they had sent to Rome, were returning from thence without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius the consul was actually marching against them, they were seized with real alarms. Finding it would be impossible for them to resist the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourse to intreaties; and, in order to enforce them, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambassadors to those whom they were going to send to Rome in order to sue for peace.

The consul being arrived in Greece, he, in conjunction with the Epirots, had laid siege to Ambracia, in which was a strong garrison of Ætolians, who had made a vigorous defence. However, being at last persuaded that it would be impossible for them to hold out long against the Roman arms, they sent new ambassadors to the consul, investing them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Those which were proposed to them being judged exceedingly severe, the ambassadors, notwithstanding their full powers, desired that leave might be granted them to consult the assembly once more; but the members of it were displeased with them for it, and therefore sent them back with orders to terminate the affair. During this interval, the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors, whom the senate had sent back to the consul, were come to him, to whom Amynander had also repaired. The latter having great credit in the city of Ambracia, where he had spent many years of his banishment, prevailed with the inhabitants to surrender themselves at last to the consul. A peace was also granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follows: They should first deliver up their arms and horses to the Romans: Should pay them one thousand talents of silver, (about an hundred and fifty thousand pounds) half to be paid down directly:
Should

Should restore to both the Romans and their allies all the deserters and prisoners: Should look upon, as their enemies and friends, all those who were such to the Romans: In fine, should give up forty hostages, to be chosen by the consul. Their ambassadors being arrived in Rome, to ratify the treaty there, they found the people highly exasperated against the Ætolians, as well on account of their past conduct, as the complaints made against them by Philip, in his letters written on that head. At last, however, the senate were moved by their entreaties, and those of the ambassadors of Athens and Rhodes who concurred in them, and therefore they ratified the treaty conformably to the conditions which the consuls had prescribed. The Ætolians were permitted to pay in gold the sum imposed on them, in such a manner, that every piece of gold should be estimated at ten times the value of ten pieces of silver of the same weight, which shows the proportion between gold and silver at that time.

(u) Fulvius the consul, after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, crossed into the island of Cephalenia, in order to subdue it. All the cities, at the first summons, surrendered immediately. The inhabitants of Same only, after submitting to the conqueror, were sorry for what they had done, and accordingly shut their gates against the Romans, which obliged them to besiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, inasmuch that it was four months before the consul could take it.

From thence he went to Peloponnesus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

The general assembly of the Achæans had from time immemorial been held at Ægium: but Philopœmen, who then was an officer of state, resolved to change that custom, and to cause the assembly to be held successively in all the cities which formed the

(u) Liv. l. 33. n. 28—30.

Achæan league; and, that very year, he summoned it to Argos. The consul would not oppose this motion; and though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, because he thought their cause the most just; yet, seeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the assembly, without declaring his opinion.

(x) But the affair relating to Sparta was still more intricate, and at the same time, of greater importance. Those who had been banished from that city by Nabis the tyrant, had fortified themselves in towns and castles along the coast, and from thence infested the Spartans. The latter had attacked, in the night, one of those towns called Las, and carried it, but were soon after drove out of it. This enterprize alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourse to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who, at that time, was in employment, secretly favoured the exiles; and endeavoured, on all occasions, to lessen the credit and authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans, having put the towns and castles of the sea-coast of Laconia under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbid the Lacedæmonians access to it; and the latter having, however, attacked the town called Las, and killed some of the inhabitants; the Achæan assembly demanded that the contrivers of that massacre should be delivered up to them; and that otherwise they should be declared violaters of the treaty. Ambassadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand, made in so haughty a tone, exceedingly exasperated the Lacedæmonians. They immediately put to death thirty of those who had held a correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles; dissolved their alliance with the Achæans, and sent ambassadors to Fulvius the consul, who was then in Cephallenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to intreat him to come and take possession of it. When the

(x) Liv. l. 38. n. 30—34.

Achæans received advice of what had been transacted in Sparta, they unanimously declared war against that city, which began by some slight incursions both by sea and land ; the season being too far advanced for undertaking any thing considerable.

The consul, being arrived in Peloponnesus, heard both parties in a public assembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and carried to a great height on both sides. Without coming to any determination, the first thing he did was, to command them to lay down their arms, and to send their respective ambassadors to Rome ; and accordingly they repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The league with the Achæans was in great consideration at Rome, but, at the same time, the Romans did not care to disgust the Lacedæmonians entirely. The senate therefore returned an obscure and ambiguous answer (which has not come down to us) whereby the Achæans might flatter themselves, that they were allowed full power to infest Sparta ; and, the Spartans, that such power was very much limited and restrained.

The Achæans extended it as they thought proper. Philopœmen had been continued in his employment of first magistrate. He marched the army to a small distance from Sparta without loss of time ; and again demanded to have those persons surrendered to him, who had concerted the enterprize against the town of Las ; declaring that they should not be condemned or punished till after being heard. Upon this promise, those who had been nominated expressly, set out, accompanied by several of the most illustrious citizens, who looked upon their cause as their own, or rather as that of the public. Being arrived at the camp of the Achæans, they were greatly surprized to see the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to them with an insulting air, and began to vent the most injurious expressions against them ; after this, the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated

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them very ignominiously. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claimed the right of nations: the rabble of the Achæans, animated by the seditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithstanding the protection due to ambassadors, and in spite of the prohibition of the supreme magistrate. Seventeen were immediately stoned to death, and seventy three rescued by the magistrate out of the hands of those furious wretches. It was not that he intended, in any manner, to pardon them; but he would not have it said, that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day, they were brought before that enraged multitude, who almost without so much as hearing them, condemned, and executed them all.

The reader will naturally suppose, that so unjust, so cruel a treatment, threw the Spartans into the deepest affliction, and filled them with alarms. The Achæans imposed the same conditions upon them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by storm. They gave orders that the walls should be demolished; that all such mercenaries as the tyrants had kept in their service, should leave Laconia; that the slaves whom those tyrants had set at liberty (and there were a great number of them) should also be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being seized by the Achæans, and sold or carried wheresoever they thought proper; that the laws and institutions of Lycurgus should be annulled. In fine, that the Spartans should be associated in the Achæan league, with whom they should thenceforth form but one body, and follow the same customs and usages.

The Lacedæmonians were not much afflicted at the demolition of their walls; with which they began the execution of the orders prescribed them: and indeed it was no great misfortune to them. * Sparta had long

* Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque objecerant murum: altiora loca & difficiliora

aditu stationibus armatorum promunimento objectis tutabantur. Liv. l. 34. n. 38.

long subsisted without any other walls or defence but the bravery of its citizens. (y) Pausanias informs us, that the walls of Sparta were begun to be † built in the time of the inroads of Demetrius, and afterwards of Pyrrhus; but that they had been completed by Nabis. Livy relates also that the tyrants, for their own security, had fortified with walls, all such parts of the city as were most open and accessible. The Spartans were therefore not much grieved at the demolition of these walls. But it was with inexpressible regret they saw the exiles, that had caused its destruction, returning into it, and who might justly be considered as its most cruel enemies. Sparta, enervated by this last blow, lost all its pristine vigour, and was for many years dependent on, and subjected to the Achæans. || The most fatal circumstance with regard to Sparta was, the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force seven hundred years, and had been the source of all its grandeur and glory.

This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as Sparta does Philopœmen no honour, but, on the contrary, seems to be a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who justly ranks him among the greatest captains of Greece, does but just glance at this action, and says only a word or two of it. It must indeed be confessed, that the cause of the exiles was favourable in itself. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged; and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants; but so open a violation of the law of nations, (to

(y) In Achaic. p. 412.

Spartani urbem, quam semper armis non muris defenderant, tum contra responsa fatorum & veterem majorum gloriam, armis diffusi, murorum præsidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse à majoribus, ut, cum multis seculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerit, tunc cives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra mu-

ros laterent. *Justin. l. 14. c. 5.*

† *Justin informs us, that Sparta was fortified with walls, at the time that Cassander meditated the invasion of Greece.*

|| Nulla res tanto erat damno, quam disciplina Lycurgi, cui per septingentos annos assueverant, sublata. *Liv.*

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which Philopœmen gave at least occasion, if he did not consent to it) cannot be excused in any manner.

(z) It appears, from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedæmonians made complaints at Rome against Philopœmen, as having, by this equally unjust and cruel action, defied the power of the republic of Rome, and insulted its majesty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard. (a) At last, Lepidus the consul writ a letter to the Achæan confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedæmonians had met with. However, Philopœmen and the Achæans sent an ambassador, Nicodemus of Elis, to Rome, to justify their conduct.

(b) In the same campaign, and almost at the same time that Fulvius the consul terminated the war with the Ætolians, Manlius, the other consul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elsewhere, of the inroad those nations had made into different countries of Europe and Asia under Brennus. The Gauls in question, had settled in that part of Asia Minor, called, from their name, Gallo-Græcia or Galatia; and formed three bodies, three different states, the Tolistobogi, the Trocmi, and Tectosages. These had made themselves formidable to all the nations round, and spread terror and alarms on all sides. The pretence made use of for declaring war against them, was, their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had resigned the command of his army to Manlius, the latter set out from Ephesus, and marched against the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been then at Rome, he would have been of great service to him in his march; however, his brother Attalus supplied his place, and was the consul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had subdued by the power of their arms, and had not met with the least opposi-

(x) Polyb. in legat. c. 37.

(a) A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C.

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(b) Liv. l. 38. n. 12—27. Polyb. in excerpt. legat.

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tion. Manlius judged that it would be necessary to harangue his forces on this occasion, before they engaged the enemy. "I am no ways surprized, says he, that the Gauls should have made their names formidable to, and spread the strongest terror in, the minds of nations, of so soft and effeminate a cast as the Asiatics. Their tall stature; their fair, flowing hair, which descends to their waists; their unweildy bucklers, their long swords: add to this, their songs, their cries and howlings, at the first onset; the dreadful clashing of their arms and shields: all this may, indeed, intimidate men not accustomed to them, but not you, O Romans, whose victorious arms have so often triumphed over that nation. Besides, experience has taught you, that after the Gauls have spent their first fire, an obstinate resistance blunts the edge of their courage, as well as their bodily strength; and that then, quite incapable of supporting the heat of the sun, fatigue, dust and thirst, their arms fall from their hands, and they sink down quite tired and exhausted. Do not imagine these the antient Gauls, inured to fatigues and dangers. The luxurious plenty of the country they have invaded, the soft temperature of the air they breathe, the effeminacy and delicacy of the people among whom they inhabit, have entirely enervated them. They now are no more than Phrygians, in Gallic armour; and, the only circumstance I fear is, that you will not reap much honour by the defeat of a rabble of enemies, so unworthy of disputing victory with Romans."

It was a general opinion with regard to the antient Gauls, that a sure way to conquer them was, to let them exhaust their first fire, which immediately was deadened by opposition; and that when once this edge of their vivacity was blunted, they had lost all strength and vigour: that their bodies were even incapable of sustaining the slightest fatigues long, or of withstanding the

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the sun-beams, when they darted with ever so little violence: that, as they were more than men in the beginning of an action, they were less than women at the conclusion of it. (c) *Gallos primo impetu feroces esse, quos sustinere satis sit—Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantissima laboris atque æstus fluere; primaque eorum prælia plus quam virorum, postrema minus quam feminarum esse.*

Those who are not acquainted with the genius and character of the modern French, entertain very near the same idea of them. However, the late transactions in Italy, and especially on the Rhine, must have undeceived them in that particular. Though I am very much prejudiced in favour of the Greeks and Romans, I question whether they ever discovered greater patience, resolution and bravery than the French did at the siege of Philippsburg. I do not speak merely of the generals and officers; courage being natural to, and in a manner inherent in them: but even the common soldiers showed such an ardor, intrepidity and greatness of soul, as amazed the generals. The sight of an army, formidable by its numbers, and still more so, by the fame and abilities of the prince who commanded it, served only to animate them the more. During the whole course of this long and laborious siege, in which they suffered so much by the fire of the besieged, and the heat of the sun; by the violence of the rains, and the inundations of the Rhine; they never once breathed the least murmur or complaint. They were seen wading through great floods, where they were up to the shoulders in water, carrying their clothes and arms over their heads, and afterwards marching, quite uncovered, on the outside of the trenches full of water, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; and then advancing with intrepidity to the front of the attack; demanding, with the loudest shouts, that the enemy should not be allowed capitulation of any kind; and to dread no other circumstance, but

(c) Liv. l. 10. n. 28.

their

their being denied the opportunity of signalizing their courage and zeal still more, by storming the city. What I now relate is universally known. The most noble sentiments of honour, bravery and intrepidity, must necessarily have taken deep root in the minds of our countrymen; otherwise, they could not have roused at once so gloriously in a first campaign, after having been in a manner asleep during a twenty years peace.

The testimony which Lewis XV. thought it incumbent on him to give them, is so glorious to the nation, and even reflects so bright a lustre on the king, that I am persuaded none of my readers will be displeased to find it inserted here entire. If this digression is not allowable in a history like this, methinks it is pardonable, and even laudable in a Frenchman, fired with zeal for his king and country.

The King's Letter to the Marshal D'ASFE LDT.

COUSIN,

I Am entirely sensible of the important service you have done me in taking Philipsburgh. Nothing less than your courage and resolution could have surmounted the obstacles to that enterprize occasioned by the inundations of the Rhine. You have had the satisfaction to see your example inspire the officers and soldiers with the same sentiments. I caused an account to be sent me daily, of all the transactions of that siege, and always observed that the ardor and patience of my troops increased in proportion to the difficulties that arose either from the swelling of the floods, the presence of the enemy, or the fire of the place. Every kind of success may be expected from so valiant a nation: And I enjoin you to inform the general officers and others, and even the whole army, that I am highly satisfied with them. You need not doubt my having the same sentiments with regard to you; to assure you of which

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which is the sole motive of this letter ; and (Cousin) I beseech the Almighty to have you in his keeping, and direct you.

Verfailles, July 23. 1734.

I now return to the history. After Manlius had ended the speech repeated above, the army discovered by their shouts how impatiently they desired to be led against the enemy ; and accordingly the consul entered their territories. The Gauls did not once suspect that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay so remote from them, and therefore were not prepared to oppose them. But notwithstanding this they made a long and vigorous resistance. They laid wait for Manlius in defiles ; disputed the passes with him ; shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses, and retired to such eminences as they thought inaccessible. However, the consul, so far from being discouraged, followed, and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them separately, stormed their cities, and defeated them in several engagements. I shall not descend to particulars, which were of little importance, and consequently would only tire the reader. The Gauls were obliged at last to submit, and to confine themselves within the limits prescribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrors it was under from those Barbarians, who, hitherto, had done nothing but harass and plunder their neighbours. So happy a tranquillity was restored on this side, that the empire of the Romans was established there from the river Halys to mount Taurus ; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Asia minor. (d) We are told that * Antiochus said, on this occasion, that he was highly obliged to the Romans, for having freed

(d) Cic. orat pro Dejot. n. 36. Val. Max. l. 4. c. 1.

* Antiochus magnus—dicere est solitus, benignè sibi à populo Romano esse factum, quod nimis

magna procuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur. Cic.

him from the cares and troubles which the government of so vast an extent of country must necessarily have brought upon him.

(d) Fulvius, one of the consuls, returned to Rome, in order to preside in the assembly. The consulate was given to M. Valerius Messala, and C. Livius Salinator. The instant the assembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. Himself and Manlius his colleague were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconsuls.

Manlius had repaired to Ephesus, to settle, with the ten commissioners who had been appointed by the senate, the most important articles of their commission. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as also that which Manlius had concluded with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been sentenced to pay the Romans six hundred talents (six hundred thousand crowns) for having assisted Antiochus; however, half this sum was accepted, at the request of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a present to Eumenes, of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He repassed into Europe with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the several cities to audience, and settled their chief difficulties.

(e) Antiochus was very much puzzled how to raise the sum he was to pay the Romans. He made a progress through the eastern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him; and left the regency of Syria during his absence to Seleucus his son, whom he had declared his presumptive heir. Being arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed that there was a very considerable treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus. This was a strong temptation to a prince who had little regard for religion, and was in

(d) A. M. 3816. Ant. J. C. 188. Liv. l. 38. n. 35. (e) A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Diod. in excerpt. p. 298. Justin. l. 33. c. 2. Hieron. in Dan. c. xi.

extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a false pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled against him, he entered the temple in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there very religiously during a long series of years. However, the people exasperated by this sacrilege, rebelled against him, and murdered him with all his followers. (f) Aurelius Victor says that he was killed by some of his own officers, whom he had beat one day when he was heated with liquor.

This prince was highly worthy of praise for his humanity, clemency and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his subjects permission, and even commanded them not to obey his ordinances, in case they should be found to interfere with the laws, shows that he had a high regard for justice. Till the age of fifty he had behaved, on all occasions, with such bravery, prudence, and application, as had given success to all his enterprizes, and acquired him the title of the *Great*. But from that time, his wisdom as well as application had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war against the Romans; the little advantage he reaped by, or rather contempt for the wise counsels of Hannibal; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept; these circumstances sullied the glory of his former successes; and his death, occasioned by a wicked and sacrilegious enterprize, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the 10th to the 19th verse, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accomplished.

(g) *But his sons (of the king of the north) shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one (Antiochus the Great) shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortrefs.* (h) This king of the north was Seleucus Callinicus, who left behind

(f) De viris illust. c. 54.

(g) Ver. 10.

(h) See ver. 8.

him two sons, Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus, afterwards surnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter, after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war against Ptolemy Philopator king of the South, that is, of Egypt; dispossessed him of Cœlosyria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province; defeated Ptolemy's generals in the narrow passes near Berytus, and made himself master of part of Phœnicia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuse him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is still more expressive. *He* (meaning Antiochus) *shall come. He shall overflow the enemy's country. He shall pass over mount Libanus. He shall halt*, whilst overtures of peace are making him. *He shall advance with ardor as far as the fortresses*, that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verses.

(i) *And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand.* Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent, effeminate prince. It was necessary to excite and drag him, in a manner, out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take up arms, and repulse the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country: *provocatus*. At last he put himself at the head of his troops; and by the valour and good conduct of his generals, obtained a signal victory over Antiochus at Raphia.

(k) *And when he hath taken away the multitude, his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down many ten thousand; but he shall not be strengthened by it.* Antiochus lost upwards of ten thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and four thousand of his men were taken prisoners. Philopator, having marched after his victory to Jerusalem, was so audacious as to attempt

(i) Ver. 11.

(k) Ver. 12.

to

to enter the sanctuary, *his heart shall be lifted up*; and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmost pride towards the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have dispossessed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himself with recovering Coelosyria and Phœnicia, and again plunged into his former excesses; *but he shall not be strengthened by it.*

(l) *For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come (after certain years) with a great army, and with much riches.* Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raised a great army in those provinces. Finding, fourteen years after the conclusion of the first war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or six years of age, had succeeded Philopator his father; he united with Philip king of Macedon, in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas at Panium near the source of the river Jordan, he subjected the whole country which Philopator had conquered, by the victory he gained at Raphia.

(m) *And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south.* This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of Macedonia and Syria against the infant monarch of Egypt: by the conspiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency; and by that of Scopas, to dispossess him of his crown and life. * *Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall.* Several apostate Jews, to ingratiate themselves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him, but it was not long-lived: for when Antiochus regained possession of Judea and Jerusalem, he

(l) Ver. 13.

(m) Ver. 14.

* The angel Gabriel here speaks to Daniel.

either extirpated, or drove out of the country all the partisans of Ptolemy. This subjection of the Jews to the sovereignty of the kings of Syria, prepared the way for the accomplishment of the prophesy, which denounced the calamities that Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occasioned a great number of them to fall into apostacy.

(m) *So the king of the north will come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities, and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand——*

(n) *But he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him; and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed.* Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Paneas, besieged and took, first Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops which the king of Egypt had sent against him. *He did according to his own will*, in Coelosyria and Palestine, and nothing was able to make the least resistance against him. Pursuing his conquests in Palestine, he entered Judea, *that glorious, or, according to the Hebrew, that desirable land.* He there established his authority; and strengthened it, by repulsing from the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had thrown into it. This garrison being so well defended, that Antiochus was obliged to send for all his troops in order to force it; and the siege continuing a long time, the country was ruined and consumed by the stay the army was obliged to make in it.

(o) *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her: but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.* Antiochus seeing that the Romans

(m) Ver. 15.

(n) Ver. 16.

(o) Ver. 17.

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undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would best suit his interest to lull the king asleep, by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to *corrupt her*, and excite her to betray her husband: but he was not successful in his design; for as soon as she was married to Ptolemy, she renounced her father's interests, and embraced those of her husband. It was on this account that we see her * join with him, in the embassy which was sent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.

(p) *After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach which Antiochus had offered him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him.* Antiochus having put an end to the war of Cœlosyria and Palestine, sent his two sons, at the head of the land-army, to Sardis, whilst himself embarked on board the fleet, and sailed to the Ægean sea, where he took several islands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that side. However, *the prince* of the people, whom he had insulted by making this invasion; that is, L. Scipio the Roman consul, *caused the reproach to turn upon him*; by defeating him at mount Sipilus, and repulling him from every part of Asia minor.

(q) *Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found.* Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the strongest fortress in it. He went soon after into the provinces of the east, in order to levy money to pay the Romans; but, having plundered the temple of Elymais, he there lost his life in a miserable manner.

(p) Ver. 18.

(q) Ver. 19.

* Legati ab Ptolemæo & Cleopatra, legibus Ægypti, gratulantes quod Manius Acilius consul An-

tiochum regem Græciæ expulset, venerunt. Liv. l. 37. n. 3.

Such is the prophesy of Daniel relating to Antiochus, which I have explained in most places, according to the Hebrew text. I confess there may be some doubtful and obscure terms, which may be difficult to explain, and are variously interpreted by commentators ; but is it possible for the substance of the prophesy to appear obscure and doubtful? Can any reasonable man, who makes use of his understanding, ascribe such a prediction, either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human prudence and sagacity? Can any light, but which proceeds from God himself, penetrate in this manner, into the darkness of futurity, and point out the events of it in so exact and circumstantial a manner? Not to mention what is here said concerning Egypt; Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldest reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded; and accordingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngest is Antiochus, surnamed the Great, from his great actions; and accordingly, our prophet gives a transient account of the principal circumstances of his life, his most important enterprizes, and even the manner of his death. In it we see his expeditions into Coelosyria and Phœnicia, several cities of which are besieged and taken by that monarch; his entrance into Jerusalem, which is laid waste by the stay his troops make in it; his conquests of a great many islands; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not answer the design he had in view; his overthrow by the Roman consul; his retreat to Antioch; and lastly, his unfortunate end. These are, in a manner, the out-lines of Antiochus's picture, which can be made to resemble none but himself. Is it to be supposed that the prophet drew those features without design and at random, in the picture he has left us of him? The facts which denote the accomplishment of the prophesy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet in question, and whose

fidelity

fidelity cannot be suspected in any manner. We must renounce, not only religion, but reason, to refuse to acknowledge, in such prophecies as these, the intervention of a supreme Being, to whom all ages are present, and who governs the world with absolute power.

SECT. IX. *Seleucus Philopator succeeds to the throne of Antiochus his father. The beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes in Egypt. Various embassies sent to the Achæans and Romans. Complaints made against Philip. Commissioners are sent from Rome to enquire into those complaints; and at the same time to examine concerning the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans. Sequel of that affair.*

(r) **A**NTIOCHUS the Great dying, Seleucus Philopator his eldest son, whom he had left in Antioch when he set out for the eastern provinces, succeeded him. But his reign was obscure and contemptible, occasioned by the misery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant * sum (a thousand talents annually) he was obliged to pay, during all his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people.

(s) Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he had sent an ambassador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this offer with joy, and accordingly sent deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, they entered into discourse concerning that prince. In the praise the

(r) A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

(s) Polyb. in Leg. c. 37.

* About 190000 l.

ambassador bestowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chace, his address in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exercise of his arms; and, to give an example of what he asserted, he declared, that this prince, being on horseback, in a party of hunting, had killed a wild bull with the discharge of a single javelin.

The same year Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a son, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometor. (1) The whole realm expressed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Cœlosyria and Palestine distinguished themselves above all the provinces, and the most considerable persons of those countries went to Alexandria upon that occasion with the most splendid equipages. Josephus, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was receiver general of those provinces, being too old to take such a journey, sent his youngest son, Hyrcanus, in his stead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. A buffoon, who used to divert the king with his jests, said to him: "Do but behold, Sir, the quantity of bones before Hyrcanus, and your majesty may judge in what a manner his father gnaws your provinces." Those words made the king laugh, and he asked Hyrcanus how he came to have so great a number of bones before him. "Your majesty need not wonder at that, replied he. For dogs eat both flesh and bones, as you see the rest of the persons at your table have done, pointing to them: but men are contented to eat the flesh, and leave the bones like me." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confused. When the day for making the presents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out, that he had only * five ta-

(1) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 12. cap. 4.

* About seven hundred and fifty pounds.

lents to present, it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king, and people diverted themselves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greatest presents made by the rest did not exceed † twenty talents. But Hyrcanus presented to the king an hundred boys well shaped and finely drest, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like present for that princess. The whole court was amazed at such uncommon and surpassing magnificence; and the king and queen dismissed Hyrcanus with the highest marks of their favour and esteem.

(u) Ptolemy, in the first year of his reign, governed in so auspicious a manner, as gained him universal approbation and applause, because he followed, in all things, the advice of Aristomenes, who was another father to him; but afterwards, the flattery of courtiers (that deadly poison to kings) prevailed over the wise counsels of that able minister. That prince shunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Aristomenes frequently took of advising him to act more consistently with himself, he dispatched him by poison. Having thus got rid of a troublesome censor, whose sight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it seemed to make him, he abandoned himself entirely to his vicious inclinations, plunged into excesses and disorders of every kind; followed no other guides, in the administration of affairs, but his wild passions; and treated his subjects with the cruelty of a tyrant.

The Egyptians, growing at last quite weary of the oppressions and injustice to which they were daily exposed, began to cabal together, and to form associations against a king who oppressed them so grievously. Some persons of the highest quality having engaged in

(u) A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Died. in Excerpt. p. 294.

† About 3000 l.

this conspiracy, they had already formed designs for deposing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

(x) To extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he chose Polycrates for his prime minister, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the most consummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had rose to the command of the army under his father, and had served in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the island of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conspiracy was discovered, the expedients he employed on that occasion conduced very much to the preservation of the state.

(y) Ptolemy, by the assistance of this prime minister, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and submit on certain conditions. But, having seized their persons, he forfeited his promise; and, after having exercised various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates extricated him again.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now speaking, seems to have been very powerful and in great consideration. We have seen that Ptolemy, a little after his accession to the throne, had been very solicitous to renew the antient alliance with them. This he also was very desirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly, offered that republic six thousand shields, and two hundred talents of brass. His offer was accepted, and in consequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the presents, and to renew the alliance; and these returned soon after with Ptolemy's

(x) Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.
183.

(y) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C.

ambassador, in order to ratify the treaty. (2) King Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose, and offered an hundred and twenty talents (about twenty one thousand pounds sterling) the interest of which to be applied for the support of the members of the public council. Others came likewise from Seleucus, who, in the name of their sovereign, offered ten ships of war completely equipped; and, at the same time, desired to have the antient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambassador whom Philopœmen had sent to Rome to justify his conduct, was returned from thence, and desired to give an account of his commission.

For these several reasons a great assembly was held. The first man that entered it was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had said in the senate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the answer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the senate, in reality, were not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta; with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the massacre of the Spartans; but, at the same time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no person happened to speak for or against the answers of the senate, no further mention was made of it at that time. But the same affair will be the subject of much debate in the sequel.

The ambassadors of Eumenes were afterwards admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father; and proposed, in Eumenes's name, the offer of an hundred and twenty talents; they expatiated largely on the great friendship and tender regard which their sovereign had always showed for the Achæans. When they had ended what they had to say, Apollonius of Sicyon rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, con-

(2) A. M. 3818. Ant. J. C. 186. Polyb. in legat. c. 14. p. 850—852.

sidered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans; but, if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case, the republic could not accept of this present without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest of prevarications. For, in a word, (continued he,) as the law forbids every individual, whether of the people or of the magistrates, to receive any gift from a king upon any pretence whatsoever, the crime would be much greater, should the commonwealth, collectively, accept of Eumenes's offers. That with regard to the infamy, it was self-evident; for, (says Apollonius) what could reflect greater ignominy on a council, than to receive annually, from a king, money for its subsistence; and to assemble, in order to deliberate on public affairs, only as so many of his pensioners; and in a manner rising from his table, after having * swallowed the bait that concealed the hook. But what dreadful consequences might not be expected from such a custom, should it be established? That afterwards Prusias, excited by the example of Eumenes, would also be liberal of his benefactions, and after him Seleucus: That as the interest of kings differed widely from those of republics; and as in the latter, their most important deliberations related to their differences with crowned heads, two things would inevitably happen; either the Achæans would transact all things to the advantage of those princes and to the prejudice of their own country; or else, they must behave with the blackest ingratitude towards their benefactors. He concluded his speech with exhorting the Achæans to refuse the present which was offered; and added, that it was their duty to take umbrage at Eumenes, for attempting to bribe their fidelity by such

* Polybius, by this expression, would denote, that such a pension was a kind of bait that covered a hook, that is, the design which Eu-

menes had of making all those who composed the council his dependants,

καὶ ἀπὸ πανότατος οἰονεὶ δέλεαρ.

an offer. The whole assembly with shouts rejected unanimously the proposal of king Eumenes, however dazzling the offer of so large a sum of money might be.

After this Lycortas, and the rest of the ambassadors who had been sent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read. Aristenes, who presided in the assembly, having asked what treaty the king of Egypt desired to renew, (several having been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions) and no body being able to answer that question, the decision of that affair was referred to another time.

At last the ambassadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him; but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships he offered.

(z) Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints were carried, from all quarters, to Rome against Philip. The senate thereupon nominated three commissioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of those affairs upon the spot.

(a) Philip still retained the strongest resentment against the Romans, with whom he believed he had just reason to be dissatisfied on many accounts; but particularly because by the articles of peace he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on such of his subjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans however had endeavoured to console him, by permitting him to invade Athamania and Amynder the king of that country; by giving up to him some cities of Thessaly which the Ætolians had seized, by leaving him the possession of Demetrias and all Magnesia, and by not opposing him in his attempts upon Thrace; all which circumstances had

(z) A. M. 3819. Ant. J. C. 185.
a. 23—29.

(a) Liv. l. 39.

somewhat

somewhat appeased his anger. He continually meditated however to take advantage of the repose which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war, whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. But the complaints that were made against him at Rome, having been listened to there, revived all his former disgusts.

The three commissioners being arrived at Tempe in Thessaly, an assembly was called there, to which came on one side the ambassadors of the Thessalians, of the Perrhebian and Athamanians; and on the other, Philip king of Macedon, a circumstance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of so powerful a prince. The ambassadors explained their various complaints against Philip, with greater or less force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excusing themselves for being obliged to plead against him, in favour of their liberty; intreated him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a master; and to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendship than fear. The rest of the ambassadors, being less reserved and not so moderate, reproached him to his face, for his injustice, oppression and usurpation; assuring the commissioners, that in case they did not apply a speedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their restoration of the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia to their liberties, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince *, like a fiery courser, would never be kept in and restrained without a very tight rein, and a sharp curb. Philip, that he might assume the air of an accuser rather than of one accused, inveighed heavily against those who had harangued on this occasion, and particularly against the Thessalians. He said that, like † slaves who being made free on a sudden contrary

* Ut equum sternacem non parentem, frenis asperioribus castiandum esse. *Liv.*

† Insolenter & immodicè abuti Thessalos, indulgentia populi Romani;

trary to all expectation, break into the most injurious exclamations against their masters and benefactors; so they abused, with the utmost insolence, the indulgence of the Romans; and were incapable, after enduring a long servitude, to make a prudent and moderate use of the liberty which had been granted them. The commissioners, after hearing the accusations and answers, the circumstances of which I shall omit as little important, and making some particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon their respective demands.

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to enquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much disgusted, followed them thither. Eumenes's ambassadors said to the commissioners, that if the Romans were resolved to restore the cities of Ænum and Maronea to their liberty, their sovereign was far from having a design to oppose it; but that, if they did not concern themselves in regard to the condition of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus; in that case, the service which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome, seemed to require that they should rather be given up to their master than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had usurped them by open force: that, besides, these cities had been given to Eumenes, by a decree of the ten commissioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine these differences. The Maronites, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the strongest terms against the injustice and oppression which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

Here Philip delivered himself in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himself personally to the Romans, declared that he had

mani; velut ex diutina siti nimis
avidè meram haurientes libertatem.
Ita, servorum modo præter spem
repente manumissorum, licentiam

vocis & linguæ experiri, & jactare
se se infectatione & conviciis domi-
norum. *Liv.*

long

long perceived they were fully determined never to do him justice on any occasion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the services he had done the Romans on different occasions; and the zeal with which he had always adhered to their interest, so far as to refuse three thousand * talents, fifty ships of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That notwithstanding this, he had the mortification to see Eumenes preferred on all occasions, with whom it was too great a condescension to compare himself; and that the Romans, so far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought this services merited, had even dispossessed him, as well of those cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of such as they had bestowed upon him. “ You, “ O Romans, (says he, concluding his speech) are “ to consider upon what foot you intend to have me “ be with you. If you are determined to treat me “ as an enemy, and to urge me to extremities, in that “ case, you need only use me as you have hitherto “ done: But, if you still revere in my person the title “ and quality of king, ally and friend, spare me, I “ beseech you, the shame of being treated any longer “ with so much indignity.”

The commissioners were moved with this speech of the king. For this reason they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in suspense, by making no decisive answer; and accordingly they declared, that if the cities in question had been given to Eumenes, by the decree of the ten commissioners, as he pretended they were; in that case, it was not in their power to reverse it in any manner: that, if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was but just that he should be suffered to continue in possession of them: that if neither of these things should be proved, then the cognizance of this affair should be left to the judg-

* About 450000 l. sterling.

ment of the senate; and, in the mean time, the garrisons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining its pretensions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, provisionally, to withdraw his garrisons out of the respective cities, so far from satisfying that prince, so entirely discontented and enraged him, that the consequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

(b) The commissioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Aristenes, who was the chief magistrate, assembled immediately all the chiefs of the republic in Argos. Cecilius, coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wisdom of their government on all other occasions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what they had acted imprudently against them on that occasion. The silence of Aristenes, who did not reply a single word, showed that he was of the same opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better skilled in war than politics, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints against him. Upon this, Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon began to speak with the utmost vigour, in defence of the republic. They showed, that the whole transaction at Sparta had been conducted by prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians; and that had it been otherwise, human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods, must have been violated. When Cecilius quitted the assembly, the members of it, moved with that discourse, came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed, and that this answer should be made the Roman ambassador.

(d) Polyb. in Leg. c. 41. p. 853, 854.

When it was told Cecilius, he desired that the general assembly of the country might be convened. To this the magistrates replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, by which the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cecilius had no such letter, they told him plainly that they would not assemble; which exasperated him to such a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magistrates had to say. It was believed that this ambassador (and before him Marcus Fulvius) would not have delivered themselves with so much freedom, had they not been sure that Aristenes and Diophanes were in their interest. And indeed, they were accused of having invited those Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly suspected by the populace.

(c) Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the senate with whatever had been transacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambassadors of Macedonia and Peloponnesus were brought in. Those of Philip and Eumenes were introduced first, and then the exiles of Ænum and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before said in the presence of Cecilius in Thessalonica. The senate, after admitting them to audience, sent to Philip other ambassadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the spot whither he was withdrawn, (as he had promised Cecilius) from the cities of Perrhæbia; to command him, at the same time, to evacuate Ænum and Maronea; and to draw off his troops from all the castles, territories, and cities, which he possessed on the sea-coast of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambassador whom the Achæans had sent, to give the reasons why they had not made their answers to Cecilius; and to inform the senate of all that had been transacted with regard to the Spartans, who had de-

(c) A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. Polyb. in legat. c. 42. Liv. l. 39. n. 33.

puted to Rome Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the first exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had restored to their country. The circumstance which most exasperated the Achæans was, to see that, notwithstanding the precious and recent obligation to their favour, they had however charged themselves with the odious commission of accusing those who had saved them so unexpectedly, and had procured them the invaluable blessing of returning to their houses and families. Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impossible to settle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the rest of the Achæans had done: and they likewise cleared themselves, for their having refused to call a general assembly. On the other side, Areus and Alcibiades represented in the most affecting manner, the sad calamity to which Sparta was reduced: its walls were demolished: its * citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a state of captivity: the sacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it subsist during so long a series of years, and with so much glory, had been entirely abolished.

The senate, after weighing and comparing the reasons on both sides, ordered the same ambassadors to enquire into this affair, as were nominated to inspect those of Macedon; and desired the Achæans to convene their general assembly, whenever the Roman ambassadors should require it; as the senate admitted them to audience in Rome, as often as they asked it.

(d) When Philip was informed by his ambassadors, who had been sent back to him from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace; in the highest degree of rage, to see his dominions

(d) Polyb. in legat. c. 44. Liv. l. 39. n. 34, 35.

* By the decree of the Achæans, it had been enacted, that such slaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, should leave the city and all Laconia; in de-

fault of which the Achæans were impowered to seize and sell them as slaves, which had accordingly been executed.

contracted

contracted on every side, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomastes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Cassander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, they let a body of Thracians into it, who fell with the utmost violence on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip, having thus wreaked his vengeance on those who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commissioners, being firmly persuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives, who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maronites had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the strongest terms, on that account. The latter resolutely asserted, that he had not been concerned in any manner in that massacre, but that it was wholly occasioned by an insurrection of the populace. "Some," says he, declaring for Eumenes, and others for me, "a great quarrel arose, and they butchered one another." He went so far as to challenge them to produce any person, who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His punishment had been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. *It is to no purpose,* says Appius to him, *for you to apologize for yourself; I know what things have been done, as well as the authors of them.* These words gave Philip the greatest anxiety. However, matters were not carried farther at this first interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to send immediately Onomastes and Cassander to Rome, to be examined by the senate on the affair in question, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last, he declared

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clared that he would send Cassander, whom the commissioners suspected to be the contriver of the massacre: but he was determined not to send Onomastes, who, (he declared) so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason of this conduct was, Philip was afraid lest Onomastes, in whom he had reposed the utmost confidence, and had never concealed any thing from, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the commissioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ship; but, at the same time, sent some persons after him, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had contrived the massacre in Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the king of Macedon reflecting in his own mind and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, must necessarily soon display itself; would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against that people; but, being not prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. Philip resolved to send his son Demetrius to Rome, who, having been many years a hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate, or apologize for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince his son on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending them, but only his bare advancing to aid that people, would strike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and
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would prevent their opposing the resolution he had formed of entering into war against the Romans. And accordingly he defeated those petty sovereigns in a battle, and took prisoner their chief, whereby he put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

(e) The arrival of the Roman commissioners was expected in Peloponnesus, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia. Lycortas, in order that an answer might be ready for them, summoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He represented to the assembly, such things as they might fear from them; the Romans seeming to favour their interest much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been so base as to undertake the embassy against them to the senate, where they acted and spoke like professed enemies; as if the Achæans had drove them from their country, when it was they who had restored them to it. Upon this, great shouts were heard in every part of the assembly, and the president was desired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but a passion and a thirst of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commissioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmost terror; for, seeing Areus and Alcibiades, whom they had just before condemned to die, arrive with the commissioners, they naturally supposed that the enquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them, that the senate had been strongly affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but disapprove of every thing

(e) Liv. l. 39. n. 35—37.

which

which had been done on that occasion : the murder of those who, on the promise which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cause ; the demolition of the walls of Sparta ; the abolition of the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, which had spread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flourish for several ages.

Lycortas, as president of the council, and as having joined with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been transacted against Lacedæmonia, undertook to answer Appius. He showed first, that as the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expressly forbid them to make any attempt against the maritime cities ; these exiles, in the absence of the Romans, could have recourse only to the Achæan league, which could not be justly accused, for having assisted them, to the utmost of their power, in so urgent a necessity. That with regard to the massacre which Appius laid to their charge, they ought not to be accused for it, but the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades ; and who, by their own immediate impulse, and without being authorized in any manner by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmost fury and violence on those whom they supposed had been the authors of their banishment, and to whom the rest of the calamities they had suffered, were owing. “ However, added Lycortas, it is pretended that we cannot but own that we were the cause of the abolition of Lycurgus’s laws, and the demolition of the walls of Sparta. This indeed is a real fact ; but then, how can this double objection be made to us at the same time ? The walls in question were not built by Lycurgus, but by tyrants, who erected them some few years ago, not for the security of the city, but for their own safety ; and to enable themselves to abolish with impunity, the discipline and regulation so happily established by that wise legislator. Were it possible for him to rise now from the grave, he would be

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“ over-

“ overjoyed to see those walls destroyed, and say,
“ that he now knows and owns his native country
“ and antient Sparta. You should not, O citizens
“ of Sparta, have waited for Philopœmen or the
“ Achæans ; but ought yourselves to have pulled down
“ those walls with your own hands, and destroyed
“ even the slightest trace of tyranny. These were
“ a kind of ignominious scars of your slavery : and,
“ after having maintained your liberties and privileges
“ during almost eight hundred years ; and been for
“ some time the sovereigns of Greece without the
“ support and assistance of walls ; they, within these
“ hundred years, have become the instruments of your
“ slavery, and in a manner your shackles and fetters.
“ With respect to the antient laws of Lycurgus, they
“ were suppressed by the tyrants ; and we have only
“ substituted our own, by putting you upon a level
“ with us in all things.

Addressing himself afterwards to Appius, " I cannot forbear owning, says he, that the words I have hitherto spoke, were not as from one ally to another ; nor of a free nation, but as slaves who speak to their master. For in fine, if the voice of the herald, who proclaimed us to be free, in the front of the Grecian states, was not a vain and empty ceremony ; if the treaty concluded at that time be real and solid ; if you are desirous of sincerely preserving an alliance and friendship with us ; on what can that infinite disparity, which you suppose to be between you Romans and we Achæans, be grounded ? I do not enquire into the treatment which Capua met with, after you had taken that city : why then do you examine into our usage of the Lacedæmonians, after we had conquered them ? Some of them were killed : and I will suppose that it was by us. But, did not you strike off the heads of several Campanian senators ? We levelled the walls of Sparta with the ground ; but as for you Romans, you not only dispossessed the Campanians

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“ of their walls, but of their city and lands. To this
 “ I know you will reply, that the equality expressed
 “ in the treaties between the Romans and Achæans is
 “ merely specious, and a bare form of words : that
 “ we really have but a precarious and derivative liberty,
 “ but that the Romans are possessed of authority and
 “ empire. This, Appius, I am but too sensible of.
 “ However, since we must be forced to submit to
 “ this, I intreat you at least, how wide a difference
 “ forever you may set between yourselves and us, not
 “ to put your enemies and our own, upon a level with
 “ us, who are your allies ; especially, not to show
 “ them better treatment. They require us, by for-
 “ swearing ourselves, to dissolve and annul all we
 “ have enacted by oath ; and to revoke that, which
 “ by being written in our records and engraved on
 “ marble, in order to preserve the remembrance of it
 “ eternally, is become a sacred monument, which
 “ it is not lawful for us to violate. We revere you,
 “ O Romans ; and if you will have it so, we also
 “ fear you ; but then, we think it glorious to have a
 “ greater reverence, and fear for, the immortal
 “ gods.”

The greatest part of the assembly applauded this speech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had spoke like a true magistrate ; it was therefore necessary for the Romans to act with vigour, or resolve to lose their authority. Appius, without descending to particulars, advised them, whilst they still enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders, to make a merit with regard to the Romans, of making that their own decree, which might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved at these words ; but were instructed by them, not to persist obstinately in the refusal of what should be demanded. All they therefore desired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleased with regard to Sparta ; but not oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themselves. As

to the sentence that was just before passed against Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

(f) The Romans pronounced judgment the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that those persons who had been condemned by the Achæans, should be recalled and restored; that all sentences relating to this affair should be repealed, and that Sparta should continue a member of the Achæan league. (g) Pausanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy, that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commissary, to settle the affairs of Macedon, and those of Peloponnesus, where great feuds and disturbance, subsisted, especially between the Achæans on one side, and the Messenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. (h) They all had sent ambassadors to Rome; but it does not appear that the senate was in any great haste to put an end to their differences. The answer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themselves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans against the Messenians, pursuant to the treaty; or, at least, not to suffer arms or provisions to be transported, out of Italy, to the latter people. It was answered them, that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the senate did not think itself obliged to enter into those disputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and divisions, and even, in some measure, give a sanction to them.

In these proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended solely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whose power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious designs with the specious pretence of succouring the weak and oppressed.

(f) Liv. l. 31. n. 43.
In legat. c. 51.

(g) In Achaic. p. 414.

(h) Polyb.

SECT. X. *Philopœmen besieges Messene. He is taken prisoner, and put to death by the Messenians. Messene surrendered to the Achæans. The splendid funeral procession of Philopœmen, whose ashes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who is succeeded by Philometor his son.*

(i) **D**INOCRATES the Messenian, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Messene from the Achæan league; and was meditating how he might best seize upon a considerable post called Corone, near that city. Philopœmen, then seventy years of age, and generalissimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, lay sick. However, the instant the news of this was brought him, he set out notwithstanding his indisposition; made a counter-march, and advanced towards Messene with a small body of forces, consisting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out against him, was soon put to flight: but five hundred troopers, who guarded the open country of Messene, happening to come up and reinforce him, he faced about and routed Philopœmen. This general, who was solicitous of nothing but to save the gallant youths that had followed him in this expedition, performed the most extraordinary acts of bravery; but happening to fall from his horse, and receiving a deep wound in the head, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, who carried him to Messene. Plutarch considers this ill fortune of Philopœmen, as the punishment for some rash and arrogant words that had escaped him, upon his hearing a certain general applauded: *Ought that man, says he, to be valued, who suffers himself to be taken alive by the enemy, whilst he has arms to defend himself?*

(i) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 283. Liv. l. 39. n. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in legat. c. 52, 53.

Upon the arrival of the first news which was carried to Messene, *viz.* that Philopœmen was taken prisoner, and on his way to that city, the Messenians were in such transports of joy, that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to persuade themselves of the truth of what they heard till they saw him themselves, so greatly improbable did this relation appear to them. To satisfy the violent curiosity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a sight of him, they were forced to show the illustrious prisoner on the theatre, where multitudes came to see him. When they beheld Philopœmen dragged along in chains, most of the spectators were so much moved to compassion, that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which resulted from humanity and a very laudable gratitude; "That the Messenians ought to call to mind the great services done by Philopœmen, and his preserving the liberty of Achaia, by the defeat of Nabis the tyrant." But the magistrates did not suffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, lest the pity of the people should be attended with ill consequences. They therefore took him away on a sudden; and, after consulting together, caused him to be conveyed to a place called *the treasury*. This was a subterraneous place, whither neither light nor air entered from without; and had no door to it, but was shut with a huge stone that was rolled over the entrance of it. In this dungeon they imprisoned Philopœmen, and posted a guard round every part of it.

As soon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates caused the stone to be rolled away; and the executioner to descend into the dungeon with a dose of poison to Philopœmen, commanding him not to stir till he had swallowed it. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan perceived the first glimmerings of light, and saw the man advance towards him with a lamp in one hand and a sword in
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the other, he raised himself with the utmost difficulty, (for he was very weak) sat down, and then taking the cup, he enquired of the executioner, whether he could tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans his followers, particularly Lycortas? The executioner answering, that he heard almost all of them had saved themselves by flight. Philopœmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly on him, *You bring me,* says he, *good news : and I find we are not entirely unfortunate ;* after which, without breathing the least complaint, he swallowed the deadly dose, and laid himself again on his cloak. The poison was very speedy in its effects ; for, Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death spread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpressibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately all their young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magistrates, came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being summoned, it was unanimously resolved not to delay a moment their revenge of so horrid a deed ; and accordingly, having elected on the spot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmost fury into Messene, and filled every part of it with blood and slaughter. The Messenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themselves by force of arms, sent a deputation to the Achæans, to desire that an end might be put to the war, and to beg pardon for their past faults. Lycortas, moved at their intreaties, did not think it adviseable to treat them as their furious and insolent revolt seemed to deserve. He told them that there was no other way for them to expect a peace, but by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen, to submit all their affairs to the disposal of the Achæans, and to receive a garrison into their citadel. These conditions were accepted and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himself, in which he was imitated by all

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those who had advised the putting Philopœmen to death. Lycortas caused those to be delivered up, who had advised the insulting of Philopœmen. These were undoubtedly the persons who were stoned round his tomb, as we shall soon see.

The funeral obsequies of Philopœmen were then solemnized. After the body had been consumed by the flames, his ashes laid together, and deposited in an urn, the train set out for Megalopolis. This procession did not so much resemble a funeral as a triumph; or rather it was a mixture of both. First came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all shedding floods of tears. Then followed the Messenian prisoners bound in chains: afterwards the general's son, young * Polybius, carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the noblest and most distinguished Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whose arms glittered magnificently, and whose horses were all richly caparisoned, who closed the march, and did not seem too much dejected at this mournful scene, nor too much elate from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the procession, as if they came in honour of a victory obtained. All possible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Messenian captives were stoned round his sepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpose, ordered all the greatest honours to be paid him, and erected many statues to him with magnificent inscriptions.

Several † years after, at the time that Corinth was burnt and destroyed by Mummius the proconsul, a false accuser (a Roman) as I observed elsewhere, used his utmost endeavours to get them broke to pieces; prosecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of

* This was Polybius the historian, who might then be about two and twenty.

† Thirty-seven years.

discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was heard in council before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and expatiated on them. They were answered by Polybius, who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence. It is great pity so affecting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius, nor his council, would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed, like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans: for the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper disparity between virtue and interest: they distinguished the glorious and honest from the profitable; and were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers observe, that three illustrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the same year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and as it were upon a level, with the two most celebrated generals of the two most powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a sufficient idea of his character, so shall only repeat what I before observed, that Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans.

The Messenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the most deplorable condition, were, by the goodness and generosity of Lycortas and the Achæans, restored to the league from which they had withdrawn themselves. Several other cities which, from the example they set them, had also renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a seasonable act of clemency produces; whereas, a violent and excessive severity, that breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to despair; and so far from proving a

remedy to evils, only enflames and exasperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Messenians, the ambassadors were addressed in terms quite different from those which had been used to them before. The senate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene; an answer which manifestly discovers the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to faith in their transactions with other nations. They seemed, at first, desirous of giving the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now, they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had sought all opportunities to serve them.

It is manifest on this occasion, that the Roman senate consented to what had been transacted, because it was not in their power to oppose it; that they wanted to make a merit of this with regard to the Achæans, who possessed almost the whole force of Peloponnesus; that they were very cautious of giving the least umbrage to this league, at a time when they could not depend in any manner on Philip; when the Ætolians were disgusted; and when Antiochus, by joining with that people, might engage in some enterprize which might have been of ill consequence to the Romans.

(*k*) I have related Hannibal's death in the history of the Carthaginians. After his retiring from Antiochus's court, he fled to Prusias king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great service. Both sides prepared for a naval engagement, on which occasion, Eumenes's fleet consisted of a much greater number of ships than that of Prusias. But Hannibal opposed stratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous serpents, and filled several earthen ves-

(*k*) Liv. l. 39. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. 10—12. Justin. l. 32. c. 4.

sels with them. The instant the signal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and sailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only, (informing them at the same time of a sign by which they should distinguish it from the rest;) and to annoy the enemy no otherwise than by throwing the earthen vessels into the rest of the gallees. At first this was only laughed at; the sailors not imagining that these earthen vessels could be of the least service: But when the serpents were seen gliding over every part of the gallees, the soldiers and rowers, now studious only of preserving themselves from those venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was so warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the king made his escape. Prusias, by Hannibal's assistance, gained several victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, because the victims had not been propitious; *What* *, says Hannibal, *do you rely more upon the liver of a beast than upon the counsel of Hannibal?* To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Prusias to deliver him up, he took a dose of poison, which brought him to his end.

(1) I before observed that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambassadors being returned, and having reported the answer which had been received from the senate, Lycortas assembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. To incline the populace to it, he represented that the Romans, to whose disposal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burthened with it: that they had

(1) A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in leg. c. 53.

* An tu, inquit, vitulinæ carunculæ, quam imperatori veteri mavis credere?——Unius hostiæ jecinori longo experimento testa-

tam gloriam suam postponi, æquo animo non tulit. *Val. Max.* l. 3. c. 7.

declared to the ambassadors, that they were no ways concerned in this affair: that the Spartans in the administration of the public affairs, were very desirous of that union, which (he observed) could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the first exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it; but would be banished from the city, and other citizens substituted in their room. But Diophanes and some other persons undertook to defend the cause of the exiles. However, notwithstanding their opposition, the council decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the league, and was so accordingly. With regard to the first exiles, those only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt against the Achæan republic.

When the affair was ended, ambassadors were sent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The senate, after giving audience to those sent by Sparta and by the exiles, said nothing to the ambassadors, which tended to show that they were disgusted in any manner at what had passed. With respect to those who had been lately sent into banishment, the senate promised to write to the Achæans, to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the senate; and there gave an account of the manner in which the Messenians had been restored to their former state: and the senators were not only satisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

(*m*) The Lacedæmonian exiles were no sooner returned from Rome into Peloponnesus, but they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the senate had sent by them, and by which they were desired to permit the exiles to settle again in their native country. It was answered, that the purport of those letters

should be considered at the return of the Achæan ambassadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the senate had wrote in favour of the exiles, not so much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans hearing this, thought it requisite not to make any change in what had been decreed.

(n) Hyperbates having been re-elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had wrote, concerning the re-establishment of the exiles who had been banished from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. “ When the Romans, says he, listen favourably to such complaints and intreaties of unfortunate persons, as appear to them just and reasonable, they, in this, act a very just part. But when it is represented to them, that among the favours which are requested at their hands, some are not in their power to bestow, and others would reflect dishonour and be very prejudicial to their allies; on these occasions they do not use to persist obstinately in their opinions, or exact from such allies an implicit obedience to their commands. This is exactly our case at present. Let us inform the Romans, that we cannot obey their orders without infringing the sacred oaths we have taken; without violating the laws on which our league is founded; and then they will undoubtedly wave their resolutions, and confess, that it is with the greatest reason we refuse to obey their commands.”

Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared, that all laws, oaths, and treaties ought to be sacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to the senate, in order to represent the reasons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Ly-

(n) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 13c. Polyb. in leg. c. 58.

fiades, and Aratus were the ambassadors, to whom instructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When these ambassadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates being introduced into the senate, acted in direct opposition to his instructions. He not only had the assurance to censure those who differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the senate what they should do. “ If the Greeks, says he, directing himself to the senators, do not obey you ; if they pay no regard either to the letters or orders which you send them, you must blame yourselves only for it. In all the states of Greece, there are now two parties ; one of which asserts, that all your orders ought to be obeyed ; and that laws and treaties, in a word, that all things should pay homage to your will and pleasure : The other party pretends, that it is fitting that laws, treaties, and oaths, ought to take place of your will ; and are for ever exhorting the people to adhere inviolably to them. Of these two parties, the last suits best with the genius and character of the Achæans, and has the greatest influence over the people. What is the consequence of this ? Those who comply with your measures are detested by the common people, whilst such as oppose your decrees are honoured and applauded. Whereas, if the senate would show ever so little favour to such as espouse their interest cordially, the chief magistrates and officers of all the republics would declare for the Romans ; and the people, intimidated by this, would soon follow their example. But, whilst you show an indifference on this head, all the chiefs will certainly oppose you, as the infallible means of acquiring the love and respect of the people. And accordingly we see, that many people, whose only merit consists in their making the strongest opposition to your orders, and a pretended zeal for the defence and preservation of the laws of their country, have been raised to the

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“ most exalted employments in their country. In case
 “ you do not much value whether the Greeks are or
 “ are not at your devotion, then indeed your present
 “ conduct suits exactly your sentiments. But if you
 “ would have them execute your orders, and receive
 “ your letters with respect, reflect seriously on this
 “ matter ; otherwise be assured that they will, on all
 “ occasions, declare against your commands. You
 “ may judge of the truth of this from their present
 “ behaviour towards you. How long is it since you
 “ commanded them, by your letters, to recal the
 “ Lacedæmonian exiles? Nevertheless, so far from
 “ recalling them, they have published a quite contrary
 “ decree, and have bound themselves by oath never
 “ to reinstate them. This ought to be a lesson to
 “ you, and show, how cautious you should be for the
 “ future.”

Callicrates, after making this speech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their business in few words, but in such as were well adapted to move compassion, and then retired.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome, as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the senate. In this did the Greeks begin to throw themselves spontaneously into the arms of slavery ; prostituted the liberty of which their ancestors had been so exceedingly jealous, and paid a submission and homage to the Romans, which they had always refused to the *Great king* of Persia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardless of every thing but their interest, sold and sacrificed the independance and glory of Greece for ever ; discovered the weak side of republics with regard to their domestic affairs ; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at last crushed ; and furnished themselves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In consequence of this speech, it was soon concluded, that it would be proper to increase the power and credit of those who made it their business to de-

send the authority of the Romans, and to humble such as should presume to oppose it. Polybius observes, that this was the first time that the fatal resolution was taken, to humble and depress those who, in their respective countries, had the most noble way of thinking ; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all such who, whether right or wrong, should declare in favour of the Romans ; a resolution, which soon after increased the herd of flatterers in all republics, and very much lessened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the constant maxims of their policy, to oppress by all possible methods whoever ventured to oppose their ambitious projects. This single maxim may serve us as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republic, and to show us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they sometimes display, but which does not long support itself, and of which a just judgment cannot be formed but by the consequences.

To conclude, the senate, in order to get the exiles restored to their country, did not only write to the Achæans, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Boeotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incense all Greece against the Achæans. And, in their answer to the ambassadors, they did not make the least mention of any one but Callicrates, whose example the senate wished the magistrates of all other cities would follow.

That deputy, after receiving this answer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cause of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto, a sort of equality had been observed between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the considerable services the Achæans had done them ; and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them,

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in the most perilous junctures, as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league distinguished themselves at that time in a most conspicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty; and above all, by the shining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treason, for we may justly bestow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, says Polybius, noble in their sentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whose fidelity they may safely depend, suggests to them the inconveniencies they would bring upon themselves, should they grant certain favours; they generally return to a just way of thinking, and correct, so far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiss. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates studies nothing but how he may best work upon their passions by flattery. He had been sent to Rome, to plead the cause of the Achæans, and, by a criminal and unparallelled prevarication, he declares against his superiors; and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had suffered himself to be corrupted. At his return to Achæa, he spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he got himself elected captain-general. He was no sooner invested with this command, but he restored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Messene to their country.

Polybius, on this occasion, praises exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderness with which they listen to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readiness to atone for such unjust actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applause he gives them will not admit of great abridgment.

ment. The reader must call to mind, that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a state of slavery. We are not to expect from an historian who is subject and dependent, so much veracity as he very possibly would have observed in a free state, and at a time when men were permitted to speak the truth ; and we must not blindly believe every circumstance of this kind advanced by him ; facts have more force, and speak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans themselves did not scruple to commit injustice, whenever they had an opportunity of employing a foreign means for that purpose, which procured them the same advantage, and served to conceal their unjust policy.

(o) Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very strong city of Pontus, of which his successors remained possessors ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints against this at Rome. Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, who was united in interest with Eumenes, sent also ambassadors thither. The Romans several times employed their mediation and authority, to put an end to their differences ; but Pharnaces was insincere on these occasions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties he took the field, and was opposed by the confederate kings. Several enterprizes ensued ; and after some years had been spent in this manner, a peace was concluded.

(p) Never were more embassies sent than at the time we are now speaking of. Ambassadors were seen in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces ; or from the allies and nations to one another. (q) The Achæans deputed, in this quality (to Ptolemy Epiphanes king of Egypt) Lycortas, Polybius his son, and the young

(o) A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. Polyb. in Leg. c. 51—53—55—59. (p) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. (q) Polyb. in Leg. c. 57.

Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the presents he had already bestowed on their republic, and the new offers he had made them. However, these ambassadors did not leave Achæa, because when they were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

(r) This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has been already mentioned, resolved to attack Seleucus king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked, by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded from this answer, that, as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent therefore that consequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus dispatched, in his twenty-ninth year, after he had sat twenty four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometor his son, who was but six years of age, succeeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

ARTICLE II.

THIS second article includes the space of twenty years, from the year of the world 3821, till 3840. In this interval are contained:

The first twenty years of Ptolemy Philometor's reign over Egypt, which amounted in the whole to thirty four years.

The five last years of Philip, who reigned forty years in Macedonia, and was succeeded by Perseus who reigned eleven.

The eight or nine last years of Seleucus Philopator in Syria, and the eleven years of Antiochus Epiphanes

(r) A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180. Hieron. in Daniel.

his

his successor, who exercised the most horrid cruelties against the Jews.

I shall reserve the eleven years of Perseus's reign over Macedonia for the following book, though they coincide with part of the history related in this article.

SECT. I. *Complaints made at Rome against Philip.*

Demetrius, his son, who was in that city, is sent to his father, accompanied by some ambassadors. A secret conspiracy of Perseus against his brother Demetrius with regard to the succession to the throne. He accuses him before Philip. Speeches of both those princes. Philip, upon a new impeachment, causes Demetrius to be put to death; but afterwards discovers his innocence and Perseus's guilt. Whilst Philip is meditating to punish the latter, he dies, and Perseus succeeds him.

(s) FROM the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia, that such as went to Rome to complain against Philip were heard there, and many of them very favourably; a great number of cities, and even private persons, made their complaints in that city against a prince who was a very troublesome neighbour to them all, with the hopes, either of having the injuries redressed which they pretended to have received; or, at least, to console themselves in some measure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the rest, to whom, by order of the Roman commissioners and senate, the fortresses in Thrace were to be given up, sent ambassadors, at whose head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the senate, that Philip did not evacuate the garrisons in Thrace as he had promised; and to complain of his sending succours into Bithynia to Prusias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the son of Philip king of Macedon, was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already

(s) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Liv. l. 39. p. 46, 47.

mentioned,

mentioned, he had been sent by his father, in order to superintend his affairs in that city. It was properly his business to answer the several accusations brought against his father : but the senate, imagining that this would be a very difficult task for so young a prince, who was not accustomed to speak in public ; to spare him that trouble, they sent certain persons to him to enquire, whether the king his father had not given him some memorials ; and contented themselves with his reading them. Philip therein justified himself to the best of his power, with respect to most of the articles which were exhibited against him ; but he especially showed great disgust, at the decrees which the Roman commissioners had enacted against him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The senate saw plainly what all this tended to ; and, as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and assured them, that every thing should be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the senate replied that his father Philip could not have done more wisely, or what was more agreeable to them, than in sending his son Demetrius to make his excuses. That, as to past transactions, the senate might dissemble, forget, and bear with a great many things : that, as to the future, they relied on the promise which Demetrius gave : That although he was going to leave Rome in order to return to Macedon, he left there (as the hostage of his inclinations) his own good heart and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father : That out of regard to him, ambassadors should be sent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably and without noise, whatever might have been hitherto amiss : and that as to the rest the senate was well pleased to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his son Demetrius for the tenderness with which the Romans behaved towards him. These marks of distinction, which the senate gave him, with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only animated

mated envy against him, and at length occasioned his destruction.

(*r*) The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambassadors, produced different effects, according to the various dispositions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the consequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleased with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace: not to mention that they considered him as the successor to the throne of Macedon, after the demise of his father. For though he was the younger son, he had one great advantage of his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perseus was the son of a concubine, and even reputed supposititious. Besides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perseus not having any credit with them. And these were the common reports.

On one side also, Perseus was greatly uneasy; as he feared, that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title against a brother superior to him in all other respects; and, on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to dispose of the throne as he pleased, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded the too great authority of his younger son. It was also a great mortification to him, to see rising, in his life-time, and before his eyes, a kind of second court in the concourse of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himself did not take sufficient care to prevent or sooth the growing disaffection to his person. Instead of endeavouring to suppress envy, by gentleness, modesty, and complacency, he only inflamed it, by a certain air of haughtiness which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himself upon the marks of distinction, with which he had been honoured in that city; and

and not scrupling to declare, that the senate had granted him many things they had refused his father.

Philip's discontent was much more inflamed, at the arrival of the new ambassadors, to whom his son made his court more assiduously than to himself; and, when he found he should be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons from that country, and to execute other things, either pursuant to the decrees of the first commissioners, or to the fresh orders he had received from Rome. All these orders and decrees he complied with very much against his will, and with the highest secret resentment; but which he was forced to obey, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not sufficiently prepared. To remove all suspicion of his harbouring the least design that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace against people with whom the Romans did not concern themselves in any manner.

(u) However, his schemes were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commissioners, who had communicated the orders of the senate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's discourses, and the several steps he took, visibly threatened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them; settled them in * the most northern part of Macedon, and substituted in their places, Thracians and other barbarous nations, whom he believed would be more faithful to him. These changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of poor, unhappy people, who were forced away out of their houses and the places where they were born, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these innovations.

(u) Liv. l. 4c. n. 3—5.

* *Æmatia*, called formerly *Pæonia*.

But Philip, so far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. (x) All things were suspected by him, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but in securing their children, and he imprisoned them under a good guard, in order to have them all destroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself than such a design; but the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly made it still more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus, one of the principal persons of the country, and some time after, his two sons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had lived widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state: but Archo married a nobleman of Ænia, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo dying early left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris; took the same care of them as she did of her own son; and was as tender of them as if she had been their mother. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to murder the children of those who had been put to death; plainly foreseeing that they would be given up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, she formed a surprizing resolution, declaring that she would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than suffer them to fall into the merciless power of Philip. Poris, whose soul was struck with horror at this design, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would send all their children to Athens, to some friends on whose fidelity and humanity he could safely rely, and that he himself would convey

(x) A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 132,

them

them thither. Accordingly they all set out from Thessalonica, in order to sail to the city of Ænia, to assist at a solemn festival, which was solemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having spent the whole day in festivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body else was asleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Thessalonica, but, in reality, to go for Eubœa; when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards, in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them back towards the coast. At day-break, the king's officers, who were posted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately sent off an armed sloop; commanding the captain of it, upon the severest penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was seen every moment, either exhorting the ship's company in the strongest terms, to exert themselves to the utmost in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. In the mean time Theoxena, resuming her former resolution, and presenting to her children the deadly dose she had prepared, and the daggers she had brought with her: "Death, says she, only can free you from your miseries: and here is what will procure you that last, sad refuge. Secure yourselves from the king's horrid cruelty by the method you like best. Go, (my dear children) such of you as are most advanced in years, and take these poniards: or, in case a slower kind of death may be more grateful, take this poison." The enemy were now almost in reach, and the mother was very urgent with them. They obeyed her fatal commands; and all, having either swallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their bosoms, were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, after giving her husband a last sad embrace, leapt into the sea with him. Philip's officers then seized the galley, but did not find one person alive in it.

The

The horror of this tragical event revived and inflamed to a prodigious degree, the hatred against Philip. He was publicly detested as a bloody tyrant; and people vented, in all places, both against him and his children dreadful imprecations, which, says Livy, soon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance against his own children.

(y) Perseus saw with infinite pain and affliction that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans, increased daily. Having now no hopes left, of being able to ascend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began by sounding the disposition of those who were in greatest favour with the king, and by addressing them in obscure and ambiguous words. At first, some seemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his proposals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, observing that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increased sensibly; which Perseus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, opposed to the utmost, they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whose youth and inexperience made him not sufficiently upon his guard against the artifices of his brother, would at last fall a victim to them; they thought it their interest to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the strongest party. They accordingly did so, and devoted themselves entirely to Perseus.

Having postponed the execution of their more remote designs, they were of opinion that for the present it would be proper for them to employ their utmost efforts to exasperate the king against the Romans; and to inspire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the

(y) Liv. l. 40. n. 5—16.

same

same time, to render Demetrius every day more suspected, they industriously on all occasions, made the discourse turn in the king's presence upon the Romans; some expressing the utmost contempt for their laws and customs, others for their exploits; some for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others, even for such of the Romans, as were in highest estimation; making them all pass in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the scope and tendency of all these discourses, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on these occasions. Hence Demetrius (without considering the consequences) grew suspected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accusations and calumnies preparing against him. Accordingly his father did not communicate to him any of the designs he continually meditated against Rome, and unbosomed himself only to Perseus.

The ambassadors whom he had sent to the Bastarnæ, to desire aid from them, returned about the time we are now speaking of. These had brought with them several youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promised his sister in marriage to one of Philip's sons. This new alliance with a powerful nation, very much exalted the king's courage. Perseus taking advantage of this opportunity; "Of what use, says he, can all this be to us? We have not so much to hope from foreign aids, as to dread from domestic foes. We harbour in our bosoms, I will not say a traitor, but at least a spy. The Romans, ever since he was an hostage among them, have restored us his body; but as to his heart and inclinations, those he has left with them. Almost all the Macedonians fix already their eyes on him; and are persuaded, that they shall never have any king, but him whom the Romans shall please to set over them." By such speeches, the old king's

disgust was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated against Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, in a festival solemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow. * A bitch, says Livy, is divided into two parts; it being cut, longways, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each side of the road. The troops under arms are made to march through the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the shining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried, tracing them backwards to the most remote antiquity. The king, with the princes his children, appear afterward, followed by all the royal household, and the companies of guards. The march is closed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the present occasion, the two princes walked on each side of the king; Perseus being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigour, the other in the flower of his age: sons who might have formed their father's happiness, had his mind been rightly disposed and reasonable.

The custom was, after the sacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms but files, and represented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However, this was not a mere mock-battle; all the men exerting themselves, with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been disputing for the throne: several were wounded on both sides, and nothing but swords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the superiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perseus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it,

* We find, in scripture, the like ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two

contracting parties pass through the parts of the victim divided. Jer. xxxiv. 18.

judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accusation against his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the soldiers of their respective parties. Perseus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refused to come. The joy was very great on both sides, and the guests drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much discourse passed about the battle; and the guests intermixed their speeches with jests and satirical flings (some of which were very sharp) against those of the contrary party; without sparing even the leaders. Perseus had sent a spy to observe all that should be said at his brother's banquet: but four young persons, who came by accident out of the hall, having discovered this spy, gave him very rude treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what happened, said to the company: "Let us go and conclude our feast at my brother's, to soften his pain (if he has any remaining) by an agreeable surprize, which will show that we act with frankness and sincerity, and do not harbour any malice against him." Immediately all cried that they would go, those excepted, who were afraid their ill treatment of the spy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them thither also, they concealed swords under their robes, in order to defend themselves in case there should be occasion. When discord reigns in families, it is impossible for any thing to be kept secret in them. A man running hastily before, went to Perseus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might easily have guessed the cause of it, as he knew that they were the persons who had abused his spy: nevertheless, to make this action still more criminal, Perseus orders the door to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment that looked into the street, cried aloud to his servants not to open the door to wretches, who were come with design to assassinate them. Demetrius,

who was a little warm with wine, after having complained in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table; still ignorant of the affair relating to Perseus's spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air; and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprized at his silence, asked what could be the cause of the concern which appeared in his countenance? "It is the greatest happiness for me, answers Perseus, and by the merest good fortune in the world, that you see me here alive. My brother now no longer lays secret snares for me; he came in the night to my house, at the head of a body of armed men, purposely to assassinate me. I had no other way left to secure myself from his fury, but by shutting my doors, and keeping the wall between him and me." Perseus perceiving by his father's countenance, that he was struck with astonishment and dread: "If you will condescend, says he, to listen a moment to me, you shall be fully acquainted with the whole state of the affair." Philip answered, that he would willingly hear him; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for. At the same time, he sent for Lyfimachus and Onomastes, to ask their advice on this occasion. These two men, who were his intimate friends, were far advanced in years. They had not concerned themselves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very seldom at court. Philip, whilst he waited for their coming, walked several times up and down his apartment alone; during which he revolved a variety of thoughts, his son Perseus standing all the time at a distance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards; and permitted each of

his sons to bring three persons, unarmed, along with him : and having taken his seat, he spoke to them as follows.

“ Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to sit as
 “ judge between my two sons, one the accuser, and
 “ the other charged with the horrid guilt of fratricide ;
 “ reduced to the sad necessity of finding, in one of
 “ them, either a criminal or a false accuser. From
 “ certain rumours which long since reached my ears,
 “ and an unusual behaviour I observe between you, (a
 “ behaviour no way suiting brothers) I indeed was
 “ afraid this storm would break over my head. And
 “ yet I hoped, from time to time, that your discon-
 “ tents and disgusts would soften, and your suspicions
 “ vanish away. I recollected that contending kings
 “ and princes, laying down their arms, had frequent-
 “ ly contracted alliances and friendships ; and that pri-
 “ vate men had suppressed their animosities. I flat-
 “ tered myself, that you would one day remember the
 “ endearing name of brethren by which you are uni-
 “ ted ; those tender years of infancy which you spent
 “ in simplicity and union ; in fine, the counsels so
 “ often repeated of a father, counsels which, alas ! I
 “ am afraid have been given to children deaf and in-
 “ docile to my voice. How many times, after setting
 “ before you examples of the discord between bro-
 “ thers, have I represented its fatal consequences, by
 “ showing you, that they had thereby involved them-
 “ selves in inevitable ruin ; and not only themselves,
 “ but their children, families, and kingdoms ? On
 “ the other side, I proposed good examples for your
 “ imitation : The strict union between the two kings
 “ of Lacedæmonia, so advantageous during several
 “ centuries, to themselves and their country ; in oppo-
 “ sition to division and private interest that changed the
 “ monarchic government into tyranny, and proved
 “ the destruction of Sparta. By what other method,
 “ than by fraternal concord, did the two brothers,

“ Eumenes and Attalus, from such weak beginnings as
“ almost reflected dishonour on the regal dignity,
“ rise to a pitch of power equal to mine, to that of
“ Antiochus, and of all the kings we know of? I
“ even did not scruple to cite examples from the Ro-
“ mans, of which I myself had either been an eye-
“ witness, or heard from others: as the two brothers
“ Titus and Lucius Quintius, who both were engaged
“ in war with me: the two Scipios, Publius and Lu-
“ cius, who defeated and subjected Antiochus: their
“ father and their uncle, who having been insepara-
“ ble during their lives, were undivided in death.
“ Neither the crimes of the one, though attended
“ with such fatal consequences; nor the virtues of
“ the other, though crowned with such happy suc-
“ cess, have been able to make you abhor division and
“ discord, and to inspire you with gentle and pacific
“ sentiments. Both of you, in my life-time, have
“ turned your eyes and guilty desires upon my
“ throne. You will not suffer me to live, till sur-
“ viving one of you, I secure my crown to the other
“ by my death. The fond names of father and
“ brother are insupportable to both. Your souls are
“ strangers to tenderness and love. A restless desire
“ of reigning has banished all other sentiments from
“ your breasts, and entirely engrosses you. But come,
“ let me hear what each of you have to say. Pol-
“ lute the ears of your parent with real or feigned
“ accusations. Open your criminal mouths; vent
“ all your reciprocal slanders, and afterwards, arm
“ your parricide hands one against the other. I
“ am ready to hear all you have to say; firmly de-
“ termined to shut my ears eternally from henceforth
“ against the secret whispers and accusations of bro-
“ ther against brother.” Philip having spoke these
last words with great emotion and an angry tone of
voice, all who were present wept, and continued a long
time in a mournful silence.

At

At last, Perseus spoke as follows. " I perceive
 " plainly, that I ought to have opened my door in
 " the dead of night ; to have admitted the assassins in-
 " to my house, and presented my throat to their
 " murderous swords, since guilt is never believed,
 " till it has been perpetrated ; and since I, who was
 " so inhumanly attacked, receive the same injurious
 " reproaches as the aggressor. People have but too
 " much reason to say, that you consider Demetrius
 " only as your true son ; whilst unhappy I am looked
 " upon as a stranger, sprung from a concubine, or
 " even an impostor. For, did your breast glow with
 " the tenderness which a father ought to have for his
 " child, you would not think it just to inveigh so
 " bitterly against me, (for whose life so many snares
 " have been laid) but against him who contrived
 " them ; and you would not think my life so incon-
 " siderable, as to be entirely unmoved at the immi-
 " nent danger I escaped ; nor to that to which I shall
 " be exposed, should the guilt of my enemies be suf-
 " fered to go unpunished. If I must die without be-
 " ing suffered to breathe my complaints, be it so ;
 " let me leave the world in silence, and be contented
 " with beseeching the gods in my expiring moments,
 " that the crime which was begun in my person, may
 " end in it, and not extend to your sacred life. But if
 " (what nature inspires in those, who seeing them-
 " selves attacked unawares in solitude, implore the
 " assistance even of strangers to them) I may be al-
 " lowed to do with regard to you on the present oc-
 " casion : if, when I see swords drawn round me, in
 " order to pierce my heart, I may be permitted to
 " vent forth a plaintive and supplicating voice ; I con-
 " jure you by the tender, the dear name of father,
 " (for which, whether my brother or I have had the
 " greatest reverence, you yourself have long known)
 " to listen to me at this time, as if, awaked suddenly
 " from your sleep by the tumult of what passed last
 " night, chance had brought you at the instant of

“ my danger, and in the midst of my complaints;
“ and that you had found Demetrius at my door, at-
“ tended by persons in arms. What I should have
“ told you yesterday, in the greatest emotion, and
“ seized with fear, I say to you now.

“ Brother, it is long since we have not behaved
“ towards one another, like persons desirous of sharing
“ in parties of pleasure. You are fired with an insa-
“ tiable thirst of reigning, but you find an invincible
“ obstacle in my age, the law of nations, the ancient
“ customs of Macedonia; and, a still stronger cir-
“ cumstance, my father’s will and pleasure. It will
“ be impossible for you ever to force these barriers,
“ and to ascend the throne, but by imbruing your
“ hands in my blood. To compass your horrid ends,
“ you employ instruments of all kinds, and set every
“ engine at work. Hitherto, my vigilance, or my
“ good fortune, have preserved me from your bloody
“ hands. Yesterday, at the review, and the cere-
“ mony of the tournament which followed it, the
“ battle, by your contrivance, became almost bloody
“ and fatal; and, had I not suffered myself and my
“ followers to be defeated, you would have sent me
“ to the grave. From this fight, indeed of enemies,
“ you insidiously wanted (as if what had passed had
“ been only the diversion of brothers) to allure me
“ to your feast. Can you suppose (royal father) that
“ I should have met with unarmed guests there, as
“ those very guests came to my palace, completely
“ armed, at so late an hour? Can you imagine that,
“ favoured by the gloom, they would not have strove
“ to plunge their daggers in my heart; as the same
“ persons, in open day, and before your eyes, almost
“ killed me with their wooden weapons? How!
“ You, who are my professed enemy; you, who are
“ conscious that I have so much reason to complain
“ of your conduct; you, (I say) come to me in the
“ night, at an unseasonable hour, and at the head of
“ a company of armed young men? I did not think
“ it

" it safe for me to go to your entertainment ; and
 " should I receive you in my house at a time when,
 " heated with the fumes of wine, you came so well
 " attended? Had I then opened my door (royal sir)
 " you would be preparing to solemnize my funeral,
 " at this very instant in which you vouchsafe to hear
 " my complaints. I do not advance any thing du-
 " bious, nor speak barely from conjecture. For can
 " Demetrius deny but that he came to my house, at-
 " tended by a band of young people, and that some
 " of them were armed? I only desire to have those
 " whom I shall name sent for. I believe them capa-
 " ble of any thing; but yet they cannot have the as-
 " surance to deny the fact. Had I brought them
 " before you, after seizing them armed in my house,
 " you would be fully convinced of their guilt: and
 " surely their own confession ought to be a no less
 " proof of it.

" You call down imprecations and curses upon im-
 " pious sons who aspire to your throne: this (august
 " sir) you have great reason to do: but then I beseech
 " you not to vent your imprecations blindly, and at
 " random. Distinguish between the innocent and
 " the guilty. Let him who meditated the barbarous
 " design of murdering his brother, feel the dire effects
 " of the anger of gods, the avengers of paternal au-
 " thority: but then let him, who, by his brother's
 " guilt, was brought to the brink of destruction, find
 " a secure asylum in his father's tenderness and jus-
 " tice. For where else can I expect to find one; I,
 " to whom neither the ceremony of the review, the
 " solemnity of the tournament, my own house, the
 " festival, nor the hours of night allotted by the gods
 " to the repose of man, could afford the least security?
 " If I go to the entertainment to which my brother
 " invites me, I am a dead man; and it will be equal-
 " ly fatal to me, if I admit him into my house,
 " when he comes thither at midnight. Snares are
 " laid for me wherever I tread. Death lies in ambush

“ for me wherever I move ; to what place then can
“ I fly for security ?

“ I have devoted myself only to the gods, and to
“ you, my royal father. I never made my court to
“ the Romans, and cannot have recourse to them.
“ There is nothing they more earnestly wish than
“ my ruin, because I am so much affected with their
“ injustice to you ; because I am tortured to the soul,
“ and fired with indignation, to see you dispossessed
“ of so many cities and dominions ; and, lately, of
“ the maritime coasts of Thrace. They cannot flatter
“ themselves with the hopes of ever making themselves
“ masters of Macedonia as long as you or I am
“ in being. They are sensible that, should I die by
“ my brother's guilt, or age bring you to the grave ;
“ or they not wait the due course of nature ; that
“ then the king and kingdom will be at their disposal.

“ Had the Romans left you the possession of some
“ city or territory, not in the kingdom of Macedon,
“ I possibly might have had some opportunity of retiring
“ to it. But, will it be answered, I shall find
“ a sufficiently powerful protection in the Macedonians.
“ You yourself, royal father, saw, with what animosity and virulence the soldiers attacked
“ me in the battle. What was wanting, for my
“ destruction, but swords of steel ? However, the
“ arms they wanted, my brother's guests assumed in
“ the night. What shall I say of a great part of the
“ principal persons of your court ; who ground all
“ their hopes on the Romans, and on him who is all-powerful
“ with them ? They are not ashamed to prefer him
“ not only to me, who am his elder brother ; but, I might almost
“ say it, to you who are our king and father. For they pretend
“ it is to him you are obliged to the senate for remitting you
“ some of those things which they otherwise would have
“ required : it is he who now checks the Romans,
“ and prevents their advancing, in a hostile manner,

“ into

“ your kingdom: in fine, if they may be believed
 “ your old age has no other refuge, but the protection
 “ which your young son procures you. On his side
 “ are the Romans, and all the cities which have been
 “ dismembred from your dominions, as well as all
 “ such Macedonians, whose dependence, with regard
 “ to fortune, lies wholly in the Romans. But with
 “ respect to myself, I look upon it as glorious to have
 “ no other protector but my royal father, and to
 “ place all my hopes in him alone.

“ What do you judge to be the aim and design of the
 “ letter you lately received from Quintius, in which he
 “ declares expressly, that you acted prudently for your
 “ interest, in sending Demetrius to Rome; and,
 “ wherein he exhorts you to send him back thither
 “ accompanied by other ambassadors, and a greater train
 “ of Macedonian noblemen? Quintius is now every
 “ thing with Demetrius. He has no other guide but his
 “ counsels, or rather his orders. Quite forgetting
 “ that you are his father, he seems to have substituted
 “ him in your place. It is in the city of Rome,
 “ and in his sight he formed the secret and clandestine
 “ designs which will soon break out in action. It is
 “ merely to have the better opportunity of putting
 “ them in execution, that Quintius orders you to
 “ send along with Demetrius, a greater number of
 “ the Macedonian nobility. They set out from this
 “ country, with the most sincere attachment to your
 “ person and interest: but won by the gracious treatment
 “ they meet with in that city, they return from
 “ it entirely corrupted and debauched by different sentiments.
 “ Demetrius is all in all with them: they
 “ even presume, in your life-time, to give him the
 “ title of king. If I appear shocked at this conduct,
 “ I have the grief to see, not only others, but yourself
 “ (my royal father) charge me with the horrid
 “ design of aspiring to your throne. Should this accusation
 “ be levelled at us both, I am conscious of my
 “ own innocence, and it cannot in any manner affect
 “ me.

“ me. For who, in that case, should I dispossess, to
 “ seize upon what would be another’s right ? There is
 “ no one but my father between me and the throne ;
 “ and I beseech the gods that he may long continue
 “ so. In case I should happen to survive him, (and
 “ this I would not wish, but so long as he should de-
 “ sire it) I shall succeed him in the kingdom, if it be
 “ his good pleasure. HE may be accused of aspiring
 “ to the throne, and of aspiring in the most unjust
 “ and criminal manner, who is impatient to break
 “ the order and bounds prescribed by age, by nature,
 “ by the usages and customs of Macedonia, and by
 “ the law of nations. My elder brother (says Deme-
 “ trius to himself) to whom the kingdom belongs both
 “ by the right of seniority, and my father’s will, is
 “ an obstacle to my ambitious views.—What then
 “ must be done ?——I must dispatch him.—I shall
 “ not be the first who has waded through a brother’s
 “ blood, to the throne. My father, in years and
 “ without support, will be too much afraid for his
 “ own life, to meditate revenge for his son’s death.
 “ The Romans will be greatly pleased to see me on
 “ the throne ; they will approve my conduct, and be
 “ able to support me.—I own, (most gracious fa-
 “ ther) these projects may all be defeated, but I am
 “ sure they are not without foundation. In a word,
 “ I reduce all to this : It is in your power to secure
 “ my life, by bringing to condign punishment, those
 “ who yesterday armed to assassinate me : but, should
 “ their guilt take effect, it will not be in your power
 “ to revenge my death.”

As soon as Perseus had ended his speech, all the
 company cast their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate
 that it was incumbent on him to answer immediately.
 But that young prince, being quite oppressed with
 sorrow, shedding floods of tears, and seeming unable
 to speak, a long silence ensued. At last, being pressed
 to answer, he made his grief give way to necessity,
 and spoke as follows.

“ Perseus

" Perseus, (royal Sir) by accusing me in your
 " presence, and by shedding fictitious tears to move
 " you to compassion, has made you suspect mine,
 " which alas! are but too sincere; and by that means
 " deprived me of all the advantages the accused ge-
 " nerally have. Ever since my return from Rome,
 " he has been day and night laying snares for me, in
 " secret cabals with his creatures; and yet he repre-
 " sents me to you, not only as laying hidden ambus-
 " cades to destroy him, but attacking him by open
 " force, and persons in arms. He endeavours to
 " alarm you by the pretended dangers which surround
 " him, in hopes that you will put to death his inno-
 " cent brother. He declares that he has no refuge,
 " no asylum left, with design to prevent my finding
 " one in your clemency and justice. In the solitary
 " and abandoned state to which I see myself reduced,
 " quite friendless and unprotected, he strives to make
 " me odious, by reproaching me with a foreign cre-
 " dit and support, which are rather a prejudice than
 " a service to me."

" Observe, I beseech you, with what insidious art
 " he has blended and confounded the transactions of
 " last night with every other circumstance of my life;
 " and this in a double view, first to raise a suspicion
 " in you of my conduct in general from this last action,
 " the innocence of which will soon be evident; and
 " secondly, to support, by this idle story of a noctur-
 " nal attack, his equally idle accusation, of my har-
 " bouring criminal views, hopes, and pretensions. At
 " the same time he has endeavoured to show, that
 " this accusation was not premeditated or prepared;
 " but that it was wholly the effect of the fear with
 " which he was seized, occasioned by last night's tu-
 " mult. But, Perseus, if I had attempted to betray
 " my father and his kingdom; had I engaged in
 " conspiracies with the Romans, and with the ene-
 " mies of the state, you ought not to have waited for
 " the opportunity of the fictitious story of last night's
 " transaction,

“ transaction, but should have impeached me before
“ this time of such treason. If the charge of treason,
“ when separated from the other, was altogether
“ improbable, and could serve to no other purpose but
“ to prove how much you envy me, and not to
“ evidence my guilt; you ought not to have mentioned it now, but should have postponed that charge
“ to another time; and have examined now this
“ question only, whether you laid snares for me, or I
“ for you. I nevertheless will endeavour, as far as the
“ confusion into which this sudden and unforeseen accusation has thrown me will permit, to separate
“ and distinguish what you have thrown together indiscriminately; and to show whether you or myself ought in justice to be accused of dealing treacherously last night.

“ Perseus asserts, that I harboured a design to assassinate him, in order that, by the death of my elder brother, to whom the crown appertains by the right of nations, by the customs of Macedonia, and even, as he pretends, by your determination; I, though the younger son, might succeed to the throne. To what purpose therefore is that other part of his speech, where he declares, that I have been particularly studious to ingratiate myself with the Romans, and flattered myself with the hopes of being able to ascend the throne by their assistance? For, if I thought the Romans were powerful enough to bestow the kingdom of Macedon on whomsoever they pleased; and if I relied so much on my credit and authority with them, why should I commit a fratricide of no advantage to myself? What! should I have affected to surround my temples with a diadem, dyed with my brother's blood, merely that I might become odious and execrable, even to those with whom I had acquired some authority (admitting I have some credit with them) by a probability either real or dissembled? Unless you can suppose that Quintius, whose counsel I am accused of
“ following

“ following (he, I say, who lives in so delightful a
 “ union with his brother) suggested to me the hor-
 “ rid design of embruining my hands in my brother’s
 “ blood. Perseus has summed up all the advantages,
 “ by which (as he would insinuate) I can promise
 “ myself a superiority over him, such as the credit of
 “ the Romans, the suffrages of the Macedonians, and
 “ the almost universal consent of gods and men ; and
 “ yet he, at the same time, (as if I was inferior to
 “ him in all respects) charges me with having re-
 “ course to an expedient which none but the blackest
 “ villains could employ. Will you, gracious sir, have
 “ us judged upon this principle and rule, that which-
 “ soever of us two was apprehensive that the other
 “ would be judged more worthy of the diadem, shall
 “ be declared to have formed the design of murdering
 “ his brother” ?

“ But let us come to facts, and examine the order
 “ and plan of the criminal enterprize with which I
 “ am charged. Perseus pretends to have been attack-
 “ ed in different manners, all which are however in-
 “ cluded within the space of one day. I attempted
 “ (as he says) to murder him in broad day-light, in
 “ the battle which followed the sacred ceremony of
 “ the review. I had determined to poison him at an
 “ entertainment to which I had invited him ; in fine,
 “ I resolved to attack him with open force, in the
 “ dead of night, attended by armed persons to a party
 “ of pleasure at his house.

“ You see, Sir, the season I had chosen to com-
 “ mit this fratricide ; a tournament, a banquet, a
 “ party of pleasure. How venerable and solemn was
 “ this day ! A day on which the army is reviewed,
 “ on which the resplendent arms of all the Macedo-
 “ nian monarchs are carried in the front of the pro-
 “ cession ; on which it passes through the two parts
 “ of the sacred victim ; and on which we have the
 “ honour to march with you, at the head of the
 “ whole Macedonian people. What ! though puri-
 “ fied

“ fied by this awful sacrifice, from all faults I might
 “ before have committed ; having before my eyes the
 “ sacred victim through which we passed, was my
 “ mind intent upon fratricides, poisons, and daggers !
 “ Defiled in such a manner by crimes of the most hor-
 “ rid nature, by what ceremonies, by what victims,
 “ would it have been possible for me to purify
 “ myself ?

“ It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a
 “ blind passion to calumniate and destroy me, in his
 “ endeavour to make every thing suspected, and a
 “ crime in me, betrays and contradicts himself. For
 “ (brother) had I formed the abominable design of
 “ poisoning you at my table, what could be more ill
 “ judged than to exasperate you, and to put you upon
 “ your guard by an obstinate battle, in which I should
 “ have discovered that I had designs of violence a-
 “ gainst you ; and, by that means, have prevented
 “ your coming to an entertainment to which I had
 “ invited you, and at which you accordingly refused
 “ to be present ? But surely, after such a refusal, should
 “ I not have endeavoured to reconcile myself to you ;
 “ and, as I had resolved to take you off by poison,
 “ ought I not to have sought another opportunity for
 “ giving you the fatal draught ? Was it natural for
 “ me to change suddenly (in one day) my barbarous
 “ design, and to attempt to assassinate you, upon pre-
 “ tence of going to your house on a party of plea-
 “ sure ? Could I reasonably flatter myself with the
 “ hopes (taking it for granted that the fear of your
 “ being murdered had made you refuse to come to
 “ my entertainment) that the same fear would not
 “ induce you to refuse me admittance into your
 “ house ?

“ I presume, Sir, I may confess to you without
 “ blushing, that in a day of festivity and rejoicing,
 “ happening to be in company with some people of
 “ the same age with myself, I drank more plentifully
 “ than usual. Enquire, I beseech you, how we spent

“ our

“ our time at the feast, how full of mirth we were,
“ how transported with thoughtless gaiety, very much
“ heightened by our, perhaps, too indiscreet joy, for
“ the victory we had gained in the tournament. It
“ is the sad condition of an unforeseen accusation; it
“ is the danger in which I now see myself involved,
“ that have dispelled but too easily the fumes of wine:
“ otherwise, a calm assassin, my eyes had still been
“ closed in slumbers. Had I formed a resolution to
“ attack your house with the view of murdering you,
“ would it not have been possible for me to abstain,
“ for one day, from immoderate drinking, and to
“ keep my companions from the like excess?

“ But, that it may not be thought that I, only, act
“ with frankness and simplicity, let us here my brother,
“ whose conduct is sincere and undisguised, and
“ who does not harbour the least suspicion. All, says
“ he, that I know, and the only thing I have to complain
“ of, is, that they came armed to my house,
“ upon pretence of engaging in a party of pleasure.
“ Should I ask you how you came to know this, you
“ will be forced to own, either that my house was
“ filled with spies sent by you, or else that my attendants
“ had taken up arms in so open a manner, that
“ every one knew of it. What does my brother do?
“ That he may not seem to have formerly watched
“ all my motions; nor at this time, to ground his
“ accusation merely on suppositions, he beseeches you
“ to enquire of those whom he shall name, whether
“ people did not come armed to his house; in order
“ that, (as if this were a doubtful circumstance) after
“ this enquiry into an incident which they themselves
“ own and confess, they may be considered as
“ legally convicted. But is this the question? Why
“ do not you desire an enquiry to be made whether
“ they took up arms to assassinate you, and if they
“ did it with my knowledge, and at my request? For
“ it is this you pretend; and not what they themselves
“ own publicly, and which is very man

that

“ that they took up arms in no other view but to de-
 “ fend themselves. Whether they had or had not
 “ reason to arm themselves, that they are to inform
 “ you. Do not blend and confound my cause with
 “ theirs, for they are quite distinct and separate.
 “ Only tell us, whether we really intended to attack
 “ you openly or by surprize. If openly, why did
 “ we not all take up arms? Why were those only
 “ armed who had insulted your spy? In case it was
 “ to have been by surprize, in what manner would
 “ the attack have been made? Would it have been at
 “ the end of the feast in your house, and after I had
 “ left it with my company, would the four men in
 “ question have staid behind, to have fallen upon you
 “ when asleep? How would it have been possible for
 “ them, as they were strangers, in my service, to con-
 “ ceal themselves in your house; and as they could
 “ not but be very much suspected, having been seen
 “ but a few hours before engaged in the quarrel? A-
 “ gain, supposing they had found an opportunity to
 “ murder you, in what manner could they have e-
 “ scaped? Could four men armed, have been able to
 “ make themselves masters of your house?

“ But to leave this nocturnal fiction, and to come
 “ to what really pains you, and which you have so
 “ much at heart: For what reason (methinks I hear
 “ my brother say) wherefore (O Demetrius) do the
 “ people talk of making you king? Why do some
 “ persons think you more worthy than I, of succeed-
 “ ing our father? Why do you make my hopes doubt-
 “ ful and uncertain, which, were it not for you,
 “ would have been established on the most solid foun-
 “ dation?——Such are the reflections which Per-
 “ seus revolves in his mind, though he does not express
 “ himself in this manner: It is this raises his enmity
 “ against me, and prompts him to charge me with
 “ such horrid attempts: It is this fills the palace, and
 “ every part of the kingdom, with suspicions and ac-
 “ cusations. If it does not become me, Sir, so much

“ as to hope the scepter, nor perhaps ever to think of
 “ contesting it, because it is your will and pleasure
 “ that I should yield to my elder brother ; it does not
 “ follow that I ought to make myself appear unwor-
 “ thy of it, either to * you (my royal father) or
 “ to all the Macedonians : a circumstance which no-
 “ thing but my ill conduct could occasion. I can in-
 “ deed, through moderation, resign it to whom it
 “ belongs ; but I cannot prevail with myself to re-
 “ nounce my virtue and good name.

“ You reproach me with the affection of the Ro-
 “ mans, and impute that to me for a crime which
 “ ought to be my glory. I did not desire to be sent to
 “ Rome, neither as an hostage at first, nor afterwards
 “ as ambassador : This, Sir, you yourself very well
 “ know. When you ordered me to go thither, I
 “ obeyed your commands ; and I believe my conduct
 “ and behaviour were such, as cannot reflect the least
 “ dishonour either on yourself, your crown, or the
 “ Macedonian nation. It is therefore yourself, Sir,
 “ that occasioned the friendship I have contracted
 “ with the Romans. So long as you shall be at peace
 “ with them, so long our friendship will subsist : but
 “ the moment the trumpet sounds for war, though I
 “ have been an hostage among them, and exercised
 “ the functions of an ambassador in such a manner as
 “ perhaps has not been disadvantageous to my father ;
 “ from that moment, I say, I shall declare myself
 “ their enemy. I do not desire to reap any benefit on
 “ the present occasion, from the love which the Ro-
 “ mans have for me ; all I intreat is, that it may
 “ not be of prejudice to me. It was not begun in
 “ war, nor is it designed to subsist in it. As an hos-
 “ tage and an ambassador, peace was my only object :
 “ let that be neither considered in me as a crime or a
 “ merit.

* Instead of indignus te patre, Gronovius reads, indignus tibi pater ;
 which seems to agree better with the context.

“ If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I
 “ owe you, Sir ; if I have formed any criminal en-
 “ terprize against my brother, let me be punished as I
 “ deserve : but if I am innocent, this I claim ; that
 “ as I cannot be convicted of the least guilt, I may
 “ not fall a victim to envy. This is not the first time
 “ that my brother has charged me with harbouring
 “ horrid designs ; but it is the first time he has at-
 “ tempted to do it openly, tho’ without the least founda-
 “ tion. Was my father exasperated against me, it
 “ would be your duty, as the elder, kindly to inter-
 “ cede for your younger brother ; to solicit his par-
 “ don, to intreat that some regard might be shown
 “ to his youth ; and that a fault, which had been
 “ committed merely through inadvertency, might be
 “ overlooked. My ruin comes from that very quar-
 “ ter, whence I might naturally have expected my
 “ safety.

“ Though not quite awake, after the feast and
 “ party of pleasure, I am dragged hither on a sud-
 “ den, to answer a charge of fratricide ; and am forced
 “ to plead my own cause, unassisted by counsellors,
 “ and unsupported by the advice or credit of a single
 “ person. Had I been to speak in favour of another,
 “ I should have taken time to prepare and compose
 “ my discourse ; and yet, on such an occasion, my
 “ reputation only would have laid at stake, and I
 “ should have had nothing to do but to display my
 “ wit and eloquence.—At this instant, without
 “ knowing the cause for which I am ordered to ap-
 “ pear in this place, I hear an offended father, com-
 “ manding me to make my defence ; and a brother
 “ charging me with the most horrid crimes. Perseus
 “ has had all the time he could desire to prepare his
 “ accusation, whilst unhappy I did not so much as
 “ know what the business was, till the very instant
 “ the accusation was brought against me. In this
 “ rapid moment, ought I to be more attentive to my
 “ accuser, than studious of my own apology ? Sur-
 “ prized

“ prized by a sudden and unforeseen accusation, I
 “ could scarce comprehend what was laid to my
 “ charge, so far from being able to know how to
 “ make a defence. What hopes, what refuge could
 “ I have left, did I not know that it is my royal fa-
 “ ther who is to judge ? He may show a greater af-
 “ fection for my brother, as the elder ; but he owes
 “ more compassion to me, as being the party accused :
 “ I myself conjure you to preserve my life for your
 “ own sake and mine ; whereas Perseus insists upon
 “ your sacrificing me to his safety. What may you
 “ not naturally expect from him when you shall once
 “ have invested him with your authority, as he now
 “ demands your favour in preference to me, at no
 “ less a price than my blood ? ”

Whilst Demetrius defended himself in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep sighs, and groans intermixed with tears. Philip, dismissing both of them for a moment, advised with his friends ; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them :
 “ I will not pronounce sentence on this affair, from
 “ mere words and a few transient speeches, but from
 “ the enquiry I shall make into your conduct ; from
 “ your behaviour in small as well as great things, and
 “ from your words as well as actions.” This judgment showed plainly enough, that although Demetrius had cleared himself with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother’s life, Philip however suspected him from his union with the Romans. These were in a manner the first sparks of the war, that appeared in Philip’s life-time, and which were to break into a flame under Perseus his successor.

(a) The king, some time after, sent Philocles and Apelles as his ambassadors to Rome, not so much with the design of employing them in any negotiation, as to enquire how the inhabitants of that city stood affected with regard to Demetrius ; and to enquire secretly into what he had said there, (particularly to Quintius)

(a) A.M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181. Liv. l. 49. n. 20—24.

with

with regard to the succession to the throne. Philip imagined that these two men were not attached to any party; but they were Perseus's adherents, and had engaged in his conspiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was transacting, (his brother's accusation excepted) had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father; especially when he found that his brother had so ordered matters, that he could not have the least access to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to shun all occasions of suspicion and envy. He avoided speaking of the Romans, or holding the least correspondence with them, even by letter; knowing it was this that chiefly incensed the Macedonians against him. He ought to have taken these precautions sooner: but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and sincere in all things, and judged of others from himself, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whose intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of mount Hæmus, the Black sea and the Adriatic, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be discovered, was curious to have an ocular demonstration of it; imagining that this prospect might be of some service to the design he meditated, of making Italy the seat of war. He only took Perseus with him, and sent Demetrius into Macedonia; appointing Didas, governor of Pæonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to escort him. This governor was a creature of Perseus, who had taught him his lesson perfectly; and exhorted him, above all things, to insinuate himself as artfully as possible into the opinion of the young prince, in order to discover all his secrets.

Didas executed his commission but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius said, lamented his ill fate, seemed to detest the injustice and insincerity of his enemies, who represented him, on all occasions,

in

in the most odious light to his father ; and offered to serve him to the utmost, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at last resolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means, (for it was necessary to pass through Pæonia, of which Didas, as I observed above, was governor) and accordingly he revealed his design to him. Didas, without loss of time, sent advice of this to Perseus, and the latter to king Philip ; who, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues in his journey up mount Hæmus, was returned with no better informations from his enquiry than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not however refute the vulgar opinion ; in all probability, that they might not expose so ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the public ; rather than because they had seen, from one and the same spot, rivers, seas, and mountains, at so vast a distance from one another. However that were, the king was at that time employed in the siege of a city called Petra, where the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius's bosom-friend, was seized, and strict orders were given, to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait till the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them ; and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with the counterfeit seal of T. Quintius, in which he desired Philip, “ not to be offended at his son Demetrius, for some unguarded expressions which might have escaped him, with respect to the succession to the crown ; assuring him that he would not engage in any attempt contrary to the ties of blood and nature.” He concluded with observing, “ that it was never in his thoughts to give him such counsel.”

counsel." This letter confirmed all that Perseus had advanced against his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king. His having projected the design of flying to the Romans, through Pæonia; and of bribing certain persons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him. But the circumstance which bore hardest against him was, the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheless did not declare himself publicly against him, resolving to make away with him secretly; not out of regard to his son, but lest the noise which the bringing him to execution would make, should discover too visibly the designs he projected against Rome. At his leaving Thessalonica to go for Demetrias, he commanded Didas to dispatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pæonia, poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drank the deadly draught, but he found himself seized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increasing, two of Didas's domestics entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deserved a much better fate.

(b) Almost two years were elapsed, before the conspiracy of Perseus against his brother was discovered. In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and remorse, incessantly deplored his son's murder, and reproached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son, who looked upon himself already as king; and to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to

(b) A. M. 3825. Ant. J. C. 179. Liv. l. 40. n. 54—57.

him

him to see his old age despised ; some waiting with the utmost impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew of another * Antigonus, who had been Philip's guardian ; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the midst of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him ; but this inviolable attachment to his father made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed, when that prince should succeed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought ; and would, from time to time, sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition ; when sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been carried, he entered into his sentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves some footsteps, by which it may be discerned, he used his utmost endeavours to trace out the secret intrigues of Perseus's conspiracy.

The persons who had the greatest concern in that black affair, and of whom the strongest suspicion might be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been sent ambassadors to Rome ; and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintius Flaminius, the letter which had proved so fatal to the young prince. It was generally whispered at court, that this whole letter was forged ; but still this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles in quality of secretary of the embassy, happened upon some occasion to apply to Antigonus. Immedi-

* He was surnamed Dofon.

ately he put him under an arrest, caused him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a strong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined, (says he) "royal sir, from several things I have heard you say, "that nothing could give you greater pleasure, than "to know exactly what idea you ought to entertain "of your two sons; and to discover which of them "it was that made an attempt on the other's life. "You now have in your power, the man who is best "able to give you a perfect account of that whole affair, and this is Xychus. He is now in your palace, and you may command him to be sent for." Xychus being immediately brought in, he first denied every thing; but he spoke so very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full discovery, upon being ever so little intimidated. Accordingly, the instant that the officer of justice appeared, he made a full confession, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambassadors, and the share he himself had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was seized; but Apelles, who was absent, hearing that Xychus had made a full discovery, fled to Italy. History does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that after having resolutely denied the charge at first, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other historians, he bore the torture with the utmost fortitude, and asserted his innocence to the last gasp. All these things only revived the sorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections to his murdered son, or to him who was still living.

Perseus being informed that his whole plot had been discovered, knew too well his own power and credit to believe it necessary to secure himself by flight. The only precaution he took was, a resolution to keep at a distance from court, as long as his father should live, in order to withdraw himself from his resentment.

Philip

Philip did not believe it in his power to seize Perseus, and bring him to condign punishment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying, with impunity, the fruits of his inhuman guilt. In this view, he sent for Antigonus, to whose great care he owed the discovery of the conspiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his personal merit, and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. "Reduced, says Philip, to the deplorable necessity of wishing that my fate, which other fathers detest as the most dreadful calamity that can befall them (the being childless;) I now am resolving to bequeath to you a kingdom, which I owe to the guardianship of your uncle; and which he not only preserved by his fidelity, but enlarged considerably by his valour. I know no man worthy of the crown but yourself. And were there none capable of wearing it with dignity, I had infinitely rather it should be lost for ever, than that Perseus should have it, as the reward of his impious perfidy. Methinks I shall see Demetrius rise from the sepulchre, and restored to his father, if I can be so happy as to substitute you in his place; you, who only bewailed the untimely death of my dear son, and the unhappy credulity which proved his destruction."

After this, he bestowed the highest honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the most advantageous light to the public. Whilst Perseus resided in Thrace, Philip made a progress through several cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greatest distinction, with the utmost zeal and affection: and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he would have put him in possession of the throne. Having left Demetrius, he made a considerable stay in Thessalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he

tell dangerously ill. The physicians declared, that his sickness proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he saw, in the dead of night, the ghost of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curses on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his sons with a shower of tears, and venting the most horrid imprecations against the other. Antigonus might have been raised to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes the physician, who presided in all the consultations, did not stay till the king had breathed his last; but the very instant he saw that it was impossible for him to recover, he dispatched couriers to Perseus; it having been agreed between them that he should keep some in readiness for that purpose; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perseus appeared, whose sudden arrival surprized all people. He then took possession of the crown which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years, the four last of which were employed in war against the Romans, for which he made preparations from his accession to the throne. At last, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the series of Perseus's history, which has scarce any connexion with that of the other kings, I shall refer it to the following book, where it shall be related at large and without interruption.

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SECT. II. *The death of Seleucus Philopator, whose reign was short and obscure. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes. Sparks of the war which afterwards broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria. Antiochus gains a victory over Ptolemy. The conqueror possesses himself of Egypt, and takes the king prisoner. A report prevailing that there was a general revolt, he goes into Palestine; besieges and takes Jerusalem, where he exercises the most horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor, who was Antiochus's prisoner, raise to the throne his younger brother Ptolemy Evergetes, surnamed also Physcon. Antiochus renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay siege to it. Popilius, one of the Roman ambassadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to molest the two brothers.*

SELEUCUS Philopator did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of (c) Maccabees. The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. Onias the high-priest, inspired by a spirit of piety, caused the laws of God to be strictly observed there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnished, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless, the perfidy of a Jew called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden a great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which Onias the high-priest made to his unjust enterprizes, informed the king, that there were immense treasures in the temple, which were not designed for the service of the sacrifices, and that he

(c) 2 Maccab. iii.

might seize upon them all. The king, on this information, sent Heliodorus his first minister to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and asked him, whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treasure, was true. The high-priest told him, that these treasures were only deposited there as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not in any manner dispose of them in wrong of those to whom they belonged; and who imagined that they could not secure them better, than by depositing them in a temple, the holiness of which was revered throughout the whole universe. This treasure consisted of four hundred talents of silver, (about fifty thousand pounds sterling) and in two hundred talents of gold (three hundred thousand pounds sterling.) However, the minister sent from the prince, insisting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the consequence, must all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the resolution to execute his commission. Immediately the whole city was seized with the utmost terror. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; beseeching the God of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to deposits, to preserve those laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly besought the Creator upon their knees, not to suffer so holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with sackcloth, were seen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a spectacle truly worthy of compassion, to see such multitudes, and especially the high-priest, pierced with the deepest affliction, upon account of so impious a sacrilege.

By

By this time Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treasury, and preparing to break it open. But the * spirit of the Almighty now revealed itself by the most sensible marks; insomuch that all those who had dared to obey Heliodorus, were struck down by a divine power, and seized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which rushing at once upon Heliodorus, struck him several times with his fore-feet. The man who sat on this horse had a terrible aspect, and his arms seemed of gold. At the same time were seen two young men whose beauty dazzled the eye, and who, standing on each side of Heliodorus, scourged him incessantly, and in the most violent manner, with their whips. Heliodorus falling from his horse, was taken up, and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple, followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to succour him; and that, because the power of God had displayed itself in the strongest manner. By the same power he was cast to the ground, speechless, and without showing the least sign of life; whilst the temple, which before resounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raised the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now, some of Heliodorus's friends besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. Whilst he was praying, the two young men above mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him: "Return thanks to Onias the high-priest; for it is for his sake that the Lord has granted you life. After having been scourged from heaven, declare to the whole world

* Sed spiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit suæ ostentationis evidentiā.

“ his miraculous power.” Having spoke these words, they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices, and made solemn vows to him who had restored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way ; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye-witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered: “ In case you have any enemy, or any traitorous wretch who has a design upon your crown, send him thither, and you will see him return back quite freed with scourging, and he perhaps may die under it. For he who inhabiteth the heavens, is himself present in that place; he is the guardian and protector of it; and he strikes those mortally who go thither to injure it.”

The king was soon punished for this sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great, having, after his defeat at Sypilus, concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus. (d) He resided thirteen years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known, (perhaps to put him at the head of some military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing ;) and to obtain him, he sent Demetrius his only son, who was but twelve years of age to Rome, as an hostage in Antiochus's room. (e) During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not returned from it ; Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, seize upon it, by taking off Seleucus, and accordingly he poisoned him.

(d) Appian. in Syr. p. 116.
275.

(e) A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C.

In this manner was fulfilled the prophesy of Daniel. After speaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, (f) *Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few days * he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle.* These few words denote evidently the short and obscure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out still more clearly. *There shall arise up in his place (of Antiochus) a man who, as an extortioner, a collector of taxes, shall cause to pass away, and shall destroy the glory of the kingdom.* And indeed, this was the sole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furnish the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, a thousand † talents annually; and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

(g) Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, had advice brought at Athens, of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told that the usurper had a very strong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whose claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's sister. Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who seated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel, from verse 21 of chapter xi, to the end of chapter xii, foretels every thing that was to befall Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed out elsewhere by the (h) *little horn which was to issue out of one of the four large horns.* I shall explain this prophesy hereafter.

(f) Dan. xi. 20.
Hieron. in Dan.

(g) Appian. in Syr.p. 116, 117.
(h) Dan. viii. 9.

* The Hebrew word may signify either days or years.

† About 150000 l.

Here, (chap. xi. verse 21.) the prophet describes his accession to the throne. *And in his (Seleucus's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* Antiochus's conduct shall show how vile he was. It is said, *that to him they shall not give the honours of the kingdom.* He did not obtain the crown, either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son who was his lawful heir, nor by the free choice of the people; Eumenes and Attalus having set it on his head. Being returned from the west *peaceably (or rather secretly)* to surprize his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a specious appearance of clemency.

(i) He assumed the title of *Epiphanes*, that is *illustrious*, which title was never worse applied. The whole series of his life will show, that he deserved much more that of *Epimanes (mad or furious)* which some people gave him.

Some circumstances related of him prove how justly the epithet *vile* is bestowed upon him in scripture. He used frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domestics, and ramble up and down the streets of Antioch. He would spend his time in talking with goldsmiths and engravers in their shops; and in disputing with them on the most minute particulars relating to the arts they professed, and which he ridiculously boasted he understood as well as they. He would very often stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places where they were assembled. On these occasions he would sit and drink with foreigners of the meanest condition of life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleasure between young people, he used to go (without saying a word to any person) and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouse and sing with them, without observing the least

(i) Athen. l. 5. p. 193.

order or decorum. He sometimes would take it into his head to divest himself of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe; and in that garb would go from street to street, as he had seen the candidates do in the election for dignities. He asked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another; and sometimes would set up for ædile, and at other times for tribune. After having got himself elected, he would call for the Curule chair*, when seating himself in it, he judged the petty suits relating to contracts of buying or selling; and pronounced sentence with as much seriousness and gravity, as if he decided affairs of the utmost importance. We are likewise told, that he was very much given to drinking; that he squandered away a great part of his revenues in excess and debauch; and that, when intoxicated in liquor, he would frequently scower up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, *catch as catch can*. At other times, he would leave his palace, (dressed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roses on his head) and walk without attendants about the streets; on which occasions, if any person offered to follow him, he used to pelt him with stones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe, for that purpose. He used often to go and bathe himself in the public baths with the common people, where he committed such extravagances, as made every body despise him. After what has been said (and I omit a great many other particulars) I submit to the reader's judgment, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of *senseless*, rather than that of *illustrious*.

(k) Scarce was Antiochus well seated on the throne, but Jason, brother of Onias the Jewish high-priest, having formed a design to supplant his brother, offered

(k) A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. 2 Maccab. c. iv.

* This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magistrates.

that prince, secretly, three hundred and sixty talents (about ninety thousand pounds sterling) besides eighty more (about twelve thousand pounds) for another article, upon condition that he should appoint him high-priest. He succeeded in his negotiation; and accordingly Onias, who was universally revered for his strict piety and justice, was deposed, and Jason established in his room. The latter subverted entirely the religion of his ancestors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewish nation, as appears from the second book of the Maccabees, and Josephus.

(*l*) In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had assumed the regency, and the tuition of her young son; and had acquitted herself with the greatest care and prudence. But dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to superintend the king's education. These were no sooner in their employments, but they sent a deputation to demand Coelosyria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes; a demand that very soon after occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of these kings, and sister to the other, had prevented them as long as she lived, from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not show so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed their sovereign's right. (*m*) It is certain that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces from the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great dispossessed Ptolemy Epiphanes of them, and left them to Seleucus his son with no other right than that of conquest. They had descended, from the latter, to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretensions, declared that, in the last division of the empire between

(*l*) A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. Hieron. in Dan.

(*m*) Polyb. in Legat. c. 72—82.

the four successors of Alexander, who possessed themselves of all countries after the battle of Ipsus, these provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himself, and his successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time, till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to dispossess Egypt of those provinces: that this prince had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him at the same time those provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage-contract.

Antiochus denied both these facts, and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria (including Coelosyria and Palestine) had been assigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that consequently they belonged justly to the prince in possession of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted, that it was an absolute chimæra. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides, without coming to any conclusion, they found it necessary to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

(n) Ptolemy Philometor, being entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador, to be present on that occasion, and to congratulate him upon it in his name. This, in outward appearance, was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was, to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Coelosyria and Palestine, as well as what measures were taking with regard to them. The instant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by sea to Joppa, visited the frontiers of the country; and

(n) 1 Maccab. iv. 21, 22.

put it into a condition of defending itself against all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progress, he took Jerusalem in his way. Jason and the whole city received him there with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the honours paid him in Jerusalem, he afterwards brought great calamities on that city and the whole Jewish nation. From Jerusalem he went to Phœnicia, and after having settled all things in every place through which he passed, he returned to Antioch.

(o) The same Apollonius had been sent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embassy. He made excuses to the senate for his master's having sent the tribute later than was stipulated by the treaty. Besides the sum due, he made a present to the people of several golden vases. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendship, which had been granted his father, should be renewed with him; and desired that the Romans would give him such orders as suited a king, who valued himself on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his sovereign could never forget the great favours he had received from the senate; from all the youths of Rome; and from persons of all ranks and conditions during his abode in that city, where he had been treated, not merely as an hostage, but as a monarch. The senate made an obliging answer to these several particulars, and dismissed Apollonius, with the highest marks of distinction, and laden with presents. It was well known, from the Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria, that he was very much esteemed by the king, and had the highest regard for the Romans.

(p) Jason, the year following, sent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negotiate some other affairs of great importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, instead of confining himself to the

(o) Liv. l. 40. n. 6.
a Maccab. iv. 23, &c.

(p) A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172.

orders of his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office, by offering three hundred talents more than he did. This new choice gave rise to tumults, disorders, murders, and sacrilegious acts: but the death of Onias, who was universally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, though so very hard-hearted, however lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign punishment. I make only a transient mention of these facts, and omit the principal circumstances of them, because they belong properly to the history of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only such particulars at large as are too important to be entirely omitted, or abridged in such a manner as to preserve their beauty.

(*q*) Antiochus, who, from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court, had been preparing for war, with which he saw himself threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœlosyria and Palestine; finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but sixteen, and was governed entirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded that the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, were engaged in so many affairs, that it would be impossible for them to give the latter the least succour; and that the war they were carrying on against Perseus king of Macedon, would not allow them leisure for it. In a word, he thought the present juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of those provinces.

In the mean time, to observe measures with the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the senate to represent the right he had to the provinces of Cœlosyria and Pa-

(*q*) A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. Liv. l. 42. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. 71, 72. Justin. l. 34. c. 2. Diod. Legat. 18. Hieron. in Daniel,

leftine, of which he was actually possessed, and the necessity he was under of engaging in a war in order for the support of them; immediately after which he put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near mount Casius and Pelusium; and fought a battle, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made so good an use of his success, that he put the frontier in a condition to serve as a barrier, and to check the utmost efforts the Egyptians might make to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into Egypt: after which, without engaging in any other enterprise that year, he returned to Tyre, and made the neighbourhood of it the winter-quarters for his army.

(r) During his stay there, three persons deputed from the Sanhedrim of Jerusalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved to be guilty in his presence of impiety and sacrilege. The king was going to condemn him, but, at the request of Ptolemy Macron, one of his ministers in the interest of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies as false witnesses; *an action*, says the author of the Maccabees, *(s) so very unjust, that, before the Scythians, they would have been judged innocent.* The Tyrians, touched with compassion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

(t) This Ptolemy Macron, having formerly been governor of the island of Cyprus under king Ptolemy Philometor, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the ministers, though they made the warmest instances upon that head; but had constantly refused to regard them from justly suspecting their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole

(r) A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. 2 Maccab. iv. 44—50.

(s) Ver. 47.

(t) Polyb. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13. viii. 8. iv. 29. & 1 Maccab. iii. 38.

treasure to Alexandria, and deposited it in the exchequer. A rare instance of a noble disregard of wealth, in a man who had all the finances at his disposal ! So considerable a sum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious credit, at court. But afterwards, exasperated at some ill treatment he met with from the ministers, or at his not having been rewarded for so important a service, he rebelled against Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus's service, and delivered up the island of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite satisfaction, took him into the number of his confidants ; made him governor of Coelosyria and Palestine ; and sent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the castle at Jerusalem under Sostratus. Large mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the books of the Maccabees.

(u) Antiochus spent the whole winter, in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into Egypt ; and, the instant the season would permit it, invaded that country both by sea and land. Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but without success ; for Antiochus gained a second battle on the frontiers, took the city of Pelusium, and marched to the very center of Egypt. In this last defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have suffered a single man to escape ; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians ; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him ; so that he soon took Memphis and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him.

(u) 2 Maccab. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17—20. Hieron. in Dan. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 311.

Philometor was either taken, or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this, they had but one table; lived, seemingly, in great friendship; and, for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interests of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But, when he had once possessed himself of the country, under that pretext he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself, as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

(x) Philometor made a miserable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shown himself to those who fought for him. And after the battle, in how abject a manner did he submit himself to Antiochus, by whom he suffered himself to be dispossessed of so fine a kingdom, without undertaking any thing to preserve it! This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity, (for he afterwards gave proofs of both,) as the effect of his soft and effeminate education under Eulæus his governor. That eunuch, who also was his prime minister, had used his utmost endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of affairs; and to make himself as necessary when the young prince should be of age, as he had been during his minority; and thereby engross all power in his own hands.

(y) Whilst Antiochus was in Egypt, a false report of his death spread throughout Palestine. Jason thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had lost in that country. Accordingly he marched with a few more than a thousand men to Jerusalem; and there, by the assistance of his partizans in the city, made himself master of it; drove

(x) Justin. l. 34. c. 2. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 310.

(y) 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 5—28. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 7. Diod. l. 34. Eclog. 1. Hieron. in Dan.

out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exercised every species of cruelty upon his fellow-citizens, and unmercifully put to death all those that fell into his hands, and whom he considered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general insurrection, and therefore set forward immediately to quell it. The circumstance which mostly exasperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings, when a false report had prevailed of his death. He therefore besieged the city, took it by storm; and during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, he caused fourscore thousand men to be inhumanly butchered. Forty thousand were also taken prisoners, and the like number sold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet satisfied, this impious monarch entered forcibly into the temple as far as the sanctuary and the most sacred places; even polluting, by his presence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of perfumes, the table for the shew-bread, the candlestick with seven branches belonging to the sanctuary, (all these were of gold;) with several other vases, utensils and gifts of kings, also of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch laden with the spoils of Judæa and Egypt, all which together amounted to immense * sums. To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his setting out, appointed as governor over Judæa, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty: he nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous disposition, governor of Samaria; and bestowed on Menelaus, the most wicked of the three, the title of

* We are told in the *Maccabees*, Book II. ch. i. ver. 14. that he carried off from the temple, only eighteen hundred talents,

which are equivalent to about two hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling.

high-priest, investing him with the authority annexed to that office.

(z) Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold to Jerusalem by strange phænomenas in the skies, that had appeared there, some time before, during forty days successively. These were men, some on horseback and others on foot, armed with shields, lances, and swords, who forming considerable bodies, combated in the air like two armies in battle.

(a) The Alexandrians, seeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom at discretion, considered him as lost to them, and therefore seated his younger brother upon the throne, which they first declared void. (b) On this occasion he had the name of Ptolemy *Evergetes* II. given him, which was soon changed to that of *Cacergetes*; the former signifying *beneficent*, and the latter *malevolent*. He afterwards was nicknamed * *Physcon*, or *tun-bellied*, because his immoderate eating had made him remarkably corpulent. (c) Most historians mention him under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief ministers, and were ordered to use their utmost endeavours to restore, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was transacting, took occasion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch; but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea-fight near Pelusium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly to-

(z) 2 Maccab. v. 2—4.
Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.
(c) Polyb. in Leg. c. 81.

(a) A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169.
(b) Athen. l. 4. p. 184.

* *φύσκαν* *ventricosus*, *obesus*, from *φύσκη*, *Crassum intestinum*, *venter*.

wards Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his two ministers, who advised him to summon a grand council, composed of all the principal officers of the army; and to deliberate with them, on the measures proper to be taken in the present exigency. After many debates, they came at last to this resolution; that, as their affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be absolutely necessary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, should be desired to employ their mediation, to which they readily consented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambassadors, who had the same instructions. He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed them to make their proposals on the morrow. The Achæans spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Eulæus; ascribing the calamities of the war to his male-administration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometor. At the same time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with Ptolemy; laying great stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the answer he gave, agreed entirely with them as to the cause and origin of the war; took occasion from thence to enforce the right he had to Coelosyria and Palestine; alledged the reasons we have related above; and produced some authentic instruments, which were judged so strong, that all the members of this congress were convinced that he had the justest right to those provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity; promising them that he would make preparations

tions for a solemn treaty, as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him; declaring, at the same time, that he would not take a single step without them.

After this answer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to besiege it. (d) In this extremity, Ptolemy Evergetes and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome; representing the calamity to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared, in the audience to which they were admitted by the senate, with all the marks of sorrow used at that time in the greatest afflictions, and made a speech still more affecting. They observed, that the authority of the Romans was so much revered by all nations and kings; and that Antiochus, particularly, had received so many obligations from them, that, if they would only declare by their ambassadors, that the senate did not approve of his making war against kings in alliance with Rome; they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria. That, should the senate refuse to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a dishonour on the Romans, should the world have an opportunity to say, that they had neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were so desperate.

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it would not be for the interest of the Romans to suffer Antiochus to attain to such an height of power, which would be too formidable, should he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negotiation. Their

(d) Liv. l. 44. n. 19. Polyb. Legat. 90.

instructions were, that they should first wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; should order them, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war: and that, should either of the parties refuse a compliance, the Romans would no longer consider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, they set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

(e) A little before their departure, some Rhodian ambassadors arrived in Egypt, who came expressly to terminate, if possible, the divisions between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; strongly insisting on the friendship with which both crowns had so long honoured them; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to settle a lasting peace between them. As they expatiated considerably on these common places, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in few words: That they had no occasion to make long harangues on this subject; that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

(f) He said these words, but harboured a very different design; his view being only to perplex affairs for the attainment of his own ends. The resistance he met with from Alexandria, the siege of which he plainly saw he should be forced to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would hence-forwards be his interest to keep up an enmity and occasion a war between the two brothers which might weaken them to such a degree, that it should be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleased. In this view he raised the siege, marched towards

(e) Polyb. Legat. 84.

(f) Liv. l. 45. n. 11.

Memphis; and gave Philometor, in outward appearance, possession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleased, and the instant matters should be ripe for his purpose. After having made these dispositions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometor began at last to wake from the lethargy, into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be sensible of all the calamities these revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to see through Antiochus's design; and that king's keeping possession of Pelusium entirely opened his eyes. He saw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view but to re-enter by it, when his brother and himself should be reduced so low, as to be unable to make the least resistance; and that then, both would fall victims to his ambition. The instant therefore that Antiochus marched away, he sent to inform his brother, that he desired they might come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected, by the mediation of Cleopatra their sister, on condition that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered exceedingly during the war.

Had Antiochus spoke from his heart, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philometor to his throne, he would have been pleased to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining such thoughts; and I before observed, that he concealed beneath those specious professions, an intention to crush the two brothers, after they should have reduced each other by a war.

(g) The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigour, sent ambassadors into Greece, to desire some auxiliary forces from the

(g) Polyb. Legat. 89—91.

Achæans.

Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only a thousand foot under the command of Lycortas, and two hundred horse under Polybius. They had also given orders for raising a thousand mercenary troops. Callicrates, who presided in the assembly, opposed the request made by the ambassadors, upon pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates, to concern themselves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to preserve their soldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would soon come to a battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius then speaking, observed, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him; the consul thanked him, and said, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Besides, that as the league was able, without the least inconveniency, to levy thirty or forty thousand men; consequently to smalt a number as was desired by the Egyptian princes, would not lessen their strength. That the Achæan confederates ought to embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings; that it would be the highest ingratitude in them, to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refusal on this occasion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates dismissed the ambassadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in such an assembly.

It therefore was held, some time after, in Sicyon; and as the members were upon the point of taking the same resolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to

employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemys and Antiochus, and in consequence caused a decree to pass, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to send only an embassy to those princes.

(b) The instant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he resolved to employ his whole force against them. Accordingly he sent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preserve the possession of that island: At the same time he marched at the head of a very powerful land-army, with the design to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cause of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometor, who told him; That their sovereign was very sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus; that he conjured him not to destroy his own work by employing fire and sword; but, on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretensions. Antiochus, throwing off the mask, no longer used the tender and affectionate expressions, of which he had till then been so ostentatiously lavish, but declared himself at once an enemy to both. He told the ambassadors, that he insisted upon having the island of Cyprus with the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile, on which it was situated, resigned to him for ever; assuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.

The time being elapsed, and the satisfaction he pretended to require not being made, he began hostilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country, through which he passed; and there received the submission of almost all the rest of the kingdom. He afterwards marched toward Alexandria, with design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have made him absolute master of all Egypt. He

(b) A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. Liv. l. 45. n. 11—13. Polyb. Legat. 92.

would certainly have succeeded in his enterprize, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy which broke all the measures he had been so long taking, in order to possess himself of Egypt.

We before observed, that the ambassadors who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmost diligence. They landed at Alexandria, just at the time Antiochus was marching to besiege it. The ambassadors came up with him at * Eleusine, which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was an hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him, as his old friend. The Roman, who did not consider himself on that occasion as a private man, but a servant of the public, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend, or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said, that he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raising his voice; *Answer, says he, the senate, before you stir out of that circle.* The king quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities; and behaved after in all respects as an old friend. † How effectual was this blunt loftiness of sentiments and expression! The Roman with a few words strikes terror into the king of Syria, and saves the king of Egypt.

* Turnebius and H. Valesius think that we should read, in Livy, Eleusinem instead of Leusinem.

† Quam efficax est animi ser-

monisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti texit. Val. Max. l. 6. c. 4.

The circumstance which made the one so bold, and the other so submissive, was the news that arrived just before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perseus king of Macedonia. From that instant, every thing gave way before them ; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he signed the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had not been executed before. He then crossed into Cyprus ; sent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians ; restored the whole island to the kings of Egypt, who laid a just claim to it ; and returned to Rome, in order to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemys and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there almost at the same time. The former said, " That the peace
" which the senate had been pleased to grant their sovereign, appeared to him more glorious than the
" most splendid conquests ; and that he had obeyed
" the commands of the Roman ambassadors, as strictly as if they had been sent from the gods." How groveling, and at the same time, how impious was all this ! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The rest of the ambassadors declared, in the like extravagant strain ;
" That the two Ptolemys and Cleopatra thought
" themselves bound in as great obligations to the senate and people of Rome, as to their parents, and
" even to the gods ; having been delivered, by the
" protection which Rome had granted them, from a
" very grievous siege ; and re-established on the throne
" of their ancestors, of which they had been almost
" entirely dispossessed." The senate answered ;
" That Antiochus acted wisely in paying obedience to
" the ambassadors ; and that the people and senate of
" Rome were pleased with him for it." Methinks

this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered; "That the senate were very much pleased, " with the opportunity of doing them some service; " and that they would endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to look upon the friendship " and protection of the Romans, as the most solid " support of their kingdom." The Prætor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

SECT. III. *Antiochus, enraged at what had happened in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to abolish the worship of the true God in Jerusalem. He exercises the most horrid cruelties in that city. The generous resistance made by Mattathias, who, in his expiring moments, exhorts his sons to fight in defence of the law of God. Judas Maccabeus gains several victories over the generals and armies of Antiochus. That prince, who had marched into Persia, in order to amass treasures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is shamefully repulsed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judæa, he sets out on a sudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march, he is struck by the hand of heaven, and dies in the greatest torments, after having reigned eleven years.*

(i) **ANTIOCHUS**, at his return from Egypt, exasperated to see himself forcibly dispossessed by the Romans, of a crown which he looked upon already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Palestine, he detached twenty two thousand men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to destroy the city of Jerusalem.

(i) A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. 1 Maccab. i. 30—40. and ii. ver. 24—27. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 7.

Apollonius arrived there just two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his first coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received such cruel orders, and waited till the first day of the sabbath before he executed them. But then, seeing all the people assembled peaceably in the synagogues, and paying their religious worship to the Creator; he put in execution the barbarous commission he had received, and setting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men; and to seize all the women and children, in order that they might be exposed to sale. These commands were obeyed with the utmost cruelty and rigour. Not a single man was spared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, insomuch that every part of the city streamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered; and fire set to several parts of it, after all the rich moveables had been carried off. They demolished such parts of the house as were still standing; and, with the ruins, built a strong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, opposite to the temple which it commanded. They threw a strong garrison into it, to awe the whole Jewish nation; they made it a good place of arms, furnished with good magazines, where they deposited all the spoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garrison fell on all who came to worship the true God in the temple; and shed their blood on every part of the sanctuary, which they polluted by all possible methods. A stop was put to both morning and evening sacrifices; not one of the servants of the true God daring to come and adore him there.

(k) As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies, and their particular usages;

(k) 1 Maceab. i. 41—64. & 2. vi. 1—7. Joseph. *ibid.*

to profess the same religion with the king, and to worship the same gods, and after the same manner, as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, glanced nevertheless chiefly at the Jews, whom he was absolutely determined to extirpate, as well as their religion.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he sent intendants into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to see it put in execution; and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. Though they seem not to have been affected with the change of their worship or gods, they however were not very well pleased with this innovation in religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews; and desired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular *, might henceforwards be consecrated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously; and ordered *Nicanor*, deputy governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the *Grecian Jupiter* as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their God and their law in this trial. Several Jews, either to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king or his officers, or else from inclination and libertinism, changed also their religion. From these different motives many fell from Israel (1); and several of those who had once taken

(1) 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24.

* They expressed themselves in that manner, because the mighty name of the God of Israel (Jehovah) was never uttered by the Jews.

this wicked step, joining themselves with the king's forces, became (as is but too common) greater persecutors of their unhappy brethren than the heathens themselves, employed to execute this barbarous commission.

The intendant, who was sent into Judæa and Samaria, to see the king's decree was punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well versed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reason, was judged a fit person to invite those nations to join in it. As soon as he arrived in Jerusalem, he began by putting a stop to the sacrifices which were offered up to the God of Israel, and suppressing all the observances of the Jewish law. They polluted the temple in such a manner, that it was no longer fit for the service of God; profaned the sabbaths and other festivals; forbid the circumcision of children; carried off and burnt all the copies of the law wherever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of God in every part of the country, and put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the intendant who commanded over them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels filled with idols were erected in every part of the city, and sacred groves were planted. They set officers over these, who caused all the people in general to offer sacrifices in them every month, the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat swine's flesh, and other unclean animals sacrificed there.

(*m*) One of these officers, Apelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the

(*m*) 1 Maccab. ii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 8.

law of God. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father Asmoneus the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of God as himself. These were Joannan surnamed *Gaddis*; Simon surnamed *Thasi*; Judas surnamed *Maccabeus*; Eleazar called *Abaron*; and Jonathan called *Apphus*. Being arrived in Modin, Apelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised that, in case of his compliance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, so loud as to be heard by the whole assembly, that * though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himself, his children, and his brothers would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of God.

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the heathens had raised, to sacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a † just and holy indignation, he fell upon the apostate and killed him: After this, being assisted by his sons, and some others who joined them, he also killed the king's commissioner and all his followers. Having in a manner thrown up the standard by this

* *Et si omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque à servitute legis patrum suorum, & consentiat mandatis ejus: ego, & filii mei, & fratres mei, obe-*

diemus legi patrum nostrorum.

† *God had commanded his people to slay those who should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. See Deut. ch. xiii. ver. 6, to 11.*

bold action, he cried aloud in the city ; * *Whoſoever is zealous of the law (n), and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me.* As he now had aſſembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worſhip of God, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they ſoon were followed by others ; ſo that all the deſerts of Judæa were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the perſecution.

(o) At firſt, when the Jews were attacked on the ſabbath, for fear of violating the holineſs of the day, they did not dare to make the leaſt defence, but ſuffered themſelves to be cut to pieces. However, they ſoon became ſenſible, that the law of the ſabbath was not binding to perſons in ſuch imminent danger as themſelves.

(p) Advice being brought Antiochus, that his decrees were not ſo implicitly obeyed in Judæa as in all other nations, went thither in perſon, in order to ſee them put in execution. He then exerciſed the moſt horrid cruelties over all ſuch Jews as reſuſed to abjure their religion ; in order to force the reſt, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them. (q) At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar ; of the mother and her ſeven ſons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their hiſtory is univerſally known, they appear to me ſo important, and relate ſo nearly to Antiochus, whoſe life I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myſelf to omit it. I ſhall therefore repeat it in almoſt the very words of ſcripture.

The extreme violence of the perſecution occaſioned many to fall away : but, on the other ſide, ſeveral continued inflexible, and choſe to ſuffer death, rather than pollute themſelves by eating impure meats.

(n) 1 Maccab. c. vii. v. 27.
2. vi. 11. Joſeph. ibid.
Joſeph. de Maccab. c. iv. & v.

(o) 1 Maccab. ii. 31—41.
(p) A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167.
(q) 2 Maccab. c. vi. & vii.

* Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, ſtatuens teſtamentum, exeat poſt me.

Eleazar was one of the most illustrious among these. He was a venerable old man, ninety years of age, and a doctor of the law, whose life had been one continued series of spotless innocence. He was commanded to eat swine's flesh, and endeavours were used to make him swallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious life to a criminal death, went voluntarily to execution ; and persevering in his resolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to save his life.

His friends who were present, moved with an unjust compassion, took him aside, and earnestly besought him to permit them to bring him such meats as he was allowed to eat ; in order that it might be imagined, that he had eaten of the meats of the sacrifice, pursuant to the king's command ; and by that means save his life. But Eleazar, considering only what great age, the noble and generous sentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, answered, pursuant to the ordinances of the holy law of God, that he would rather die than consent to what was desired from him. " It would be shameful, says
 " he to them, for me, at this age, to use such an
 " artifice, as many young men, upon the supposition
 " that Eleazar, at fourscore and ten years of age, had
 " embraced the principles of the heathens, would be
 " imposed upon by such deceit, which I should have
 " employed to preserve the short remains of a corrupt-
 " tible life ; and thereby I should dishonour my old
 " age, and expose it to the curses of all men. Be-
 " sides, supposing I should by that means avoid the
 " punishment of men, I could never fly from the
 " hand of the Almighty, neither in this world, nor
 " in that which is to come. For this reason, if I
 " lay down my life courageously, I shall appear wor-
 " thy of old age ; and still leave behind me, for the
 " imitation of young people, an example of constancy
 " and resolution, by suffering patiently an honourable
 " death,

“ death, for the sake of our venerable, and holy laws.” Eleazar had no sooner ended his speech, but he was dragged to execution. The officers that attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with some humanity towards him, grew furious upon what he had said, which they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torments had made him ready to breath his last, he vented a deep sigh and said : “ O Lord ! thou who art possessed of the holy knowledge, thou seest that I, who could have delivered myself from death, do yet suffer cruel agonies in my body ; but in my soul find joy in my sufferings, because I fear thee.” Thus died this holy man ; leaving, by his death, not only to the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and resolution.

At this time seven brothers, with their mother, were seized ; and king Antiochus would force them to eat swine’s flesh contrary to their law, by causing their bodies to be scourged in a most inhuman manner. But the eldest of the brethren said to him : “ What is it thou wouldst ask or have of us ? We are ready to lay down our lives, rather than violate the holy laws which God gave to our forefathers.” The king being exasperated at these words, ordered brazen pans and cauldrons to be heated ; and, when they were red, he caused the tongue of that man who had spoke first to be cut off ; had the skin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought close to the fire, and fried in the pan. Whilst these variety of tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageously, saying : “ The Lord God will have regard to truth : he will have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moses declares in his song.”

The first dying in this manner, the second was taken ; and after the hair of his head, with the skin, were tore away, he was asked whether he would eat
of

of some meats which were presented to him ; otherwise, that all his limbs should be severed from his body. But he answered in the language of his country, " I will not obey any of your commands." He was then tortured in the same manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he spoke thus to the king : " Wicked prince, you bereave us of this terrestrial life : but the king of heaven and earth, if we die for the defence of his laws, will one day raise us up to everlasting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately ; and afterwards stretching forth his hands with the utmost tranquillity of mind, he bravely said : " I received these limbs from heaven, but I now despise them, since I am to defend the laws of God ; from the sure and stedfast hopes that he will one day restore them to me." The king and all his followers were astonished at the intrepidity of this young man, who scorned the utmost efforts of their cruelty.

The fourth was tortured in the same manner, and being ready to die, he said to the monarch : " It is for our advantage to be killed by men, because we hope that God will restore us to life at the resurrection : but you, O king, will never rise to life."

The fifth, whilst they were tormenting him, said to Antiochus : " You now act according to your own will and pleasure, because you are invested with absolute human power, though you are but a mortal man. But do not imagine that God has forsaken our nation. Stay but a little, and you will see the wondrous effects of his power ; and in what manner he will torment yourself and your race."

The sixth came next, who, the moment before he expired, said : Do not deceive yourself : " It is true, indeed, our sins have drawn upon us the exquisite tortures which we now suffer : but do not flatter
" your-

“ yourself with the hopes of impunity, after having
“ presumed to make war against God himself.”

In the mean time their mother, supported by the hopes that she had in God, beheld with incredible resolution, all her seven sons die thus inhumanly in one day. She encouraged them by the wisest and most pathetic discourse, and uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother, she said to them : “ I
“ know not in what manner you were formed in my
“ womb ; for it was not I who inspired you with a
“ soul and with life, nor formed your members : but
“ I am sure that the Creator of the world, who
“ fashioned man, and who gave being to all things,
“ will one day restore you to life by his infinite mercy, in return for your having despised it here, out
“ of the love you bear to his laws.”

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to a compliance ; assuring him, with an oath, that he would raise him to riches and power ; and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being insensible to all these promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to inspire the child with salutary counsels. This she promised : and going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant’s cruelty, she said to him in her native language : “ Son,
“ have pity on me ; on me who bore you nine
“ months in my womb ; who for three years fed
“ you with milk from my breasts, and brought you
“ up ever since. I conjure you, dear child, to look
“ upon heaven and earth and every thing they contain, and firmly to believe that God formed them
“ all, as well as man. Fear not that cruel executioner ; but show yourself worthy of your brethren,
“ by submitting chearfully to death ; in order that
“ by the mercy of God, I may receive you, together with your brothers, in the glory which
“ awaits us.”

As she was speaking in this manner, the young child cried aloud: "What is it you expect from me? "I do not obey the king's command, but the law which was given us by Moses. As to you, from whom all the calamities with which the Hebrews have been afflicted, flow, you shall not escape the hand of the Almighty. Our sufferings indeed are owing to our sins: but if the Lord our God, to punish us, was, for a little time, angry with us, he at last will be appeased, and be reconciled to his servants. But as for you, the most wicked, the most impious of men, do not flatter yourself with vain hopes. You shall not escape the judgment of the Creator, who is all-seeing and omnipotent. As to my brothers; after having suffered, a moment, the most cruel tortures, they taste eternal joys. In imitation of the example they have set me, I freely give up my body and life for the laws of my forefathers; and I beseech God to extend his mercy soon to our nation; to force you by wounds and tortures of every kind to confess that he is the only God; and that his anger, which is justly fallen on the Hebrews, may end by my death and that of my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with the utmost confidence in God. At last the mother also suffered death.

(r) Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons; and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of God against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president of the council. He afterwards died, and was interred at Modin, in the burying-place of his ancestors, all

(r) A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Joseph. Antiq. l. 8. c. 12.

the faithful Israelites shedding floods of tears at his death.

(s) Antiochus finding that Paulus Æmilius, after having defeated Perseus and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous to have the same spectacle exhibited at Daphne near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite spectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, cost immense sums, and lasted several days. The part he there acted, during the whole time, answered in every respect to the character given of him by Daniel (r), who calls him a *vile* or contemptible *man*; as I have said elsewhere. He there did so many mad actions before that infinite multitude of people, assembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing-stock of them all; and many of them were so much disgusted, that, to prevent their being spectators of a conduct so unworthy a prince, and so repugnant to the rules of modesty and decorum, they refused to go any more to the feasts to which he invited them.

(u) He had scarce ended the solemnization of these games, but Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambassador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him so polite and friendly a reception, that the ambassador not only laid aside all suspicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any resentment with respect to what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed those who spread such reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, beside other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train, and was even going to resign his crown to him. The ambassador ought to have been politician enough to suspect all these caresses: for it is certain that Antiochus was

(s) Polyb. apud Athen. l. 5. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 321. (r) Dan. xi. 21. (u) Polyb. Legat. 101—105. Diod. in Excerpt. Valef. p. 322.

meditating, at that time, how he might best revenge himself of the Romans; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

(x) Whilst Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judæa. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress, and accordingly marched directly against him. However, Judas defeated him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the like fate; and, as that general had been, was also defeated and killed in the battle.

When news was brought Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expences he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation; and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

(y) He had squandered immense sums on the games. Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every other respect, particularly in the presents he bestowed on particular persons and whole bodies of men. He often would throw his money abundantly among his attendants and others; sometimes seasonably enough, but most frequently without sense or reason.

(x) 1 Maccab. iii. 1—26. 2. viii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 10.

(y) Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 11.

On these occasions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he should (z) *scatter among them the prey and spoil of riches*; and the author of the (a) Maccabees says, that he had been exceedingly liberal, and had *abounded above the kings that were before him*. We are told by (b) Athenæus, that the circumstances which enabled him to defray so prodigious an expence were, first, the spoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promise he had made Philometor in his minority; secondly, the sums he had raised among his friends, by way of free gifts; lastly, (which was the most considerable article) the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had sacrilegiously invaded.

(c) Besides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others arose, according to Daniel's prophesy, *from the tidings which came to him out of the east, and out of the north*. For northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled against him; and Persia, which lay eastward, discontinued the regular payment of the tribute. (d) There, as in every other part of his dominions, all things seemed in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the new ordinance by which the antient customs of so many of his subjects were abolished; and those of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculously fond, established in their stead. These things occasioned great confusion with respect to the payments which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vast and rich empire, and had always supplied sums sufficient to defray the great expences it was necessary to be at.

(e) To remedy these grievances, as well as a multitude of others, he resolved to divide his forces into two parts: to give the command of one of his armies to

(z) Dan. xi. 24.
l. 5. p. 195.

(d) 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

2. viii. 8—28. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 11. Appian, in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

(a) 1 Maccab. iii. 30.

(c) Dan. xi. 44. & Hieron. in hunc locum.

(e) 1 Maccab. iii. 31—60. & iv. 1—25.

(b) Athen.

Lyfias, descended from the blood-royal, in order that he might subdue the Jews ; and to march the other into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, to reinstate the affairs of those provinces in their former flourishing condition. He accordingly left Lyfias the government of all the countries on this side the Euphrates ; and the care of his son's education, who afterwards was called * *Antiochus Eupator*. After passing mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, beat Artaxias, and took him prisoner. He marched from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should have no other trouble, but to receive the tribute of that rich province, and those in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himself that he should there find sums sufficient to fill his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon as good a foot as ever.

Whilst he was forming all these projects, Lyfias was meditating how he might best put in execution the orders he had left him, especially those which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to leave one Hebrew in the country ; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make the more dispatch in this expedition, because advice was daily brought him, that the arms of Judas made prodigious progress, and increased in strength by taking all the fortresses which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judæa, seeing Judas's success, had sent expresses, with advice of this, to Ptolemy Macron governor of Cœlo-syria and Palestine, on which Judæa depended ; and had pressed him, by letter, to employ such measures as might best support the interests of their common sovereign in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lyfias. A resolution was therefore immediately taken, to send an

* He was then but seven years old.

army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generalissimo, into Judæa. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant-general; sent him before, at the head of twenty thousand men, with Georgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, to assist him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were soon followed by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces intended for that expedition. The armies, when joined, came and encamped at Emmaus near Jerusalem. It consisted of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse.

Thither also repaired an army of another kind. It consisted of merchants that came to purchase the slaves, who, it was supposed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of levying large sums of money by this means, sufficient to pay * the two thousand talents which the king still owed the Romans, on account of the antient treaty of Sipylus; published a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring, that all the prisoners taken in that war should be sold, at the rate of ninety for a talent †. A resolution indeed had been taken, to cut to pieces all the men grown; to reduce all the rest to a state of captivity, and one hundred and eighty thousand of the latter, at the price above-mentioned, would have sold exactly for the sum in question. The merchants therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them, (as it was a very low price) flocked thither in crowds, and brought considerable sums with them. We are told that a thousand, all of them very considerable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occasion, without including their domestics and the persons they should want, to look after the captives they intended to purchase.

Judas and his brethren, perceiving the danger with which they were threatened, by the approach of so powerful an army, which, they knew, had been

* About three hundred pounds sterling. † A thousand crowns.

commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewish nation, resolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themselves, their law, and their liberty; and, either to conquer, or die sword in hand. Accordingly they divided the six thousand men under their command into four bodies of fifteen hundred men each. Judas put himself at the head of the first, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maspha, there to offer together their prayers to God; and to implore his assistance in the extreme danger to which they were reduced. He made choice of this place, because as Jerusalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the sanctuary trampled upon, they could not assemble in it to solemnize that religious act; and Maspha seemed the fittest place for that purpose, because God was worshipped there before the foundation of the temple.

(f) Here are now two armies ready to engage, the numbers on each side very unequal, and the disposition of their minds still more so. (g) They agree however in one point, that is, both are firmly persuaded they shall gain the victory; the one, because they have a mighty army of well disciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, because they put their whole trust in the God of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to the (b) law, that those who had built a house that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire; Judas's six thousand men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheless this valiant captain of the people of God, resolutely determined to fight the mighty host of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the issue to providence; advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his soldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the present conjuncture

(f) Judges xx. 1.
5, &c.

(g) 1 Reg. vii. 5.

(b) Deut. xx.

supplied,

supplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they must prepare for it.

But receiving advice that same evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, all chosen troops; and that he was marching a bye-way, through which the apostate Jews led him, in order to come and surprize his camp in the night; he was not satisfied with frustrating that design, but even made use of the very stratagem which the enemy intended to employ against him, and was successful in it. For, raising his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage; he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the best troops having been detached from it; and spread such terror and confusion into every part of it, that after three thousand Syrians had been cut to pieces, the rest fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was still at the head of his formidable detachment, Judas, like a wise captain, kept his troops together; and would not suffer them to straggle about after plunder, or in pursuit of the enemy, till they should have defeated that body also. He was successful without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having sought for him in vain in the mountains whither he supposed he had retired, withdrew at last into his camp; and finding it in a blaze, and his soldiers straggling and flying away, it was impossible for him to keep them in order; so that these threw down their arms and fled also. Then Judas and the men under his command pursued them vigorously, and cut to pieces a greater number on this occasion, than they had before done in the camp. Nine thousand Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greatest part of those who fled were either maimed or wounded.

After this, Judas marched back his soldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immense

menſe booty ; and great numbers who were come, as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themſelves taken priſoners and fold. The next day, being the ſabbath, was ſolemnized in the moſt religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occaſion, gave themſelves up to an holy joy ; and unanimoſly returned thanks to the Creator, for the great and ſignal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a ſenſible image of the feeble oppoſition which the human arm is able to make againſt that of the Almighty, on whom only the fate of battles depends. It is evident that Judas was fully ſenſible of his own weakneſs. *How can we, ſays he to the Almighty before the battle, ſtand before them, unleſs thou thyſelf aſſiſteſt us ?* And it is as evident that he was no leſs firmly perſuaded of the ſucceſs of his arms. *The victory, (he had ſaid before) does not depend on the number of ſoldiers, but it is from heaven that all our ſtrength comes.* But although Judas had ſo entire a confidence in God, he employs all thoſe expedients which the moſt experienced and braveſt general could uſe, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals ! To pray with humility, becauſe all things depend on God : and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.

—— We are ſtill poſſeſſed (thanks to the Almighty) of generals who believe it glorious to entertain ſuch thoughts ; and who, at the head of great armies, compoſed of as brave ſoldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almoſt unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all thoſe human advantages, but ſolely on the protection of the God of armies.

(i) Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and reinforced by a great number of troops whom this ſucceſs brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him to diſtreſs the reſt of his

(i) 2 Maccab. viii. 30—33.

enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants, were raising troops to fight him, he marched against them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of twenty thousand of their men.

(*k*) Lyfias hearing of the ill success which Antiochus's arms had met with in Judæa, and the great losses he had sustained in that country, was in great astonishment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a strong desire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition against the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse, all chosen troops; and putting himself at their head, he marched into Judæa, firmly resolved to lay waste the whole country, and to destroy all the inhabitants.

He encamped at Bethsura, a city standing to the south of Jerusalem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced towards him at the head of ten thousand men; and, fully persuaded that the Lord would assist him, he engaged the enemy with his inconsiderable body of troops, killed five thousand of them, and put the rest to flight. Lyfias, dismayed at the surprizing valour of Judas's soldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his conquered army to Antioch, intending nevertheless, to come and attack them again the next year with a still more powerful body of forces.

(*l*) Judas being left master of the field by the retreat of Lyfias, took advantage of this opportunity, and marched to Jerusalem, where he recovered the sanctuary from the heathens, purified it, and dedicated it again to the service of God. This solemn dedication continued a week, all which was spent in thanksgiving for the delivery that God had vouchsafed them; and it was ordained, that the anniversary of it should be

(*k*) A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 11. (*l*) 1 Maccab. iv. 36—61. & v. 1, 2. 2. x. 1—8. Joseph. Antiq. l. 12. c. 11.

solemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the prosperity of the Jews, made a league to destroy them; and resolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

(*m*) This prince was then in Persia, levying the tribute which had not been paid regularly. He was informed, that Elymais was thought to abound with riches; and especially, that in a temple of that city, which Polybius says was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus according to Appian, prodigious sums were laid up. He went thither, with a design to take the city, and plunder the temple, as he had before done Jerusalem. But his design having taken vent, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, thunder-struck at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to his affliction, news was there brought him, of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judæa. In the violence of his rage, he set out with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march; and breathing only final ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way; fresh expresses came to him with advice of Lyfias's defeat, and also that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in them, and re-established their antient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately he commands his coachman to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might have an opportunity to satiate fully his vengeance: threatening to make Jerusalem the burying-place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that

(*m*) A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 ix. 1—29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

blasphemous expression, but he was struck by the hand of God. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the cholic. *Thus the murderer and blasphemer, says the author of the Maccabees, having suffered most grievously, as he treated other men, so died he a miserable death, in a strange country in the mountain.*

But still his pride was not abated by this first shock : so far from it, that suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But as his horses were running forwards impetuously, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruised, in a grievous manner, every part of his body ; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him ; his flesh fell away piecemeal, and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it, (n) *It is meet, says he, to be subject unto God ; and man who is mortal should not think of himself as if he were a god.* Acknowledging that it was the hand of the Lord of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jerusalem, he promises to exert his utmost liberality towards his chosen people ; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jerusalem which he had plundered ; to furnish, from his revenues, the sums necessary for defraying the expence of the sacrifices ; to turn Jew himself ; and to travel into every part of the world, in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped he should calm his wrath by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author in ques-

(n) 2 Maccab. c. ix. v. 12.

tion, (o) *This wicked person vowed unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him.* And indeed this murtherer and blasphemer, (these are the names which the writer of the Maccabees substituted in the place of *illustrious*, which men had bestowed on that prince,) being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death *.

Before he expired, he sent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy; was his favourite, and had bestowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He had put into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and how to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. Few princes give such instructions to their children till they are near their end; and that, after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had sat eleven years on the throne.

SECT. IV. *Prophecies of Daniel relating to Antiochus Epiphanes.*

AS Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent persecutor of the people of God, who formed the Jewish

(o) 2 Maccab. c. xiii.

* Polybius attests the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that spectres stood perpetually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This historian, who was unacquainted with the scriptures, assigns as the cause of this punishment the sacrilegious attempt formed by this prince against the temple of Diana in Elymais. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

church ; and was, at the same time, the type of the Antichrist, who, in after-ages, was to afflict the Christian church ; the prophecies of Daniel expatiate much more on this prince than on any other mentioned in them. This prophecy consists of two parts, one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the Jews. We shall treat these separately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

I. THE WARS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AGAINST EGYPT, FORETOLD BY DANIEL THE PROPHET.

(p) *And in his (Seleucus Philopator's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom : but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* This verse, which points out the accession of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

(q) *And with the arms of a flood shall they (the Syrians) be overflown before him, (Antiochus Epiphanes) and shall be broken ; yea, also the prince of the covenant.* Heliodorus, the murtherer of Seleucus and his adherents, as also those of the Egyptian king, who had formed designs against Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and dispersed by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their projects. By the *prince of the covenant*, we may suppose to be meant, either Heliodorus the ring-leader of the conspirators, who had killed Seleucus ; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes king of Egypt, who lost his life by a conspiracy of his own subjects, when he was meditating a war against Syria. Thus providence

(p, Dan. c. xi. ver. 21.

(q) Ver. 22.

removed

removed this powerful adversary, to make way for Antiochus, and raise him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet in the following verses, points out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

ANTIOCHUS'S *first* EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(r) *And after the league made with him, (with Ptolemy Philometor his nephew king of Egypt) he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people. Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war; he yet shall assume a specious appearance of friendship for the king of Egypt. He even sent Apollonius to Memphis, to be present at the banquet given on occasion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheless soon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt with a small army in comparison of those which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Pelusium. Antiochus was strongest, that is victorious, and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his first expedition.*

ANTIOCHUS'S *second* EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(s) *He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province (Egypt;) and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his father's fathers; he shall scatter among them (his troops) the prey and spoil and riches; yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.*

(t) *And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south (of Egypt) with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle*

(r) Ver. 23.

(s) Ver. 24.

(t) Ver. 25.

with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand : for they shall forecast devices against him.

(u) *Yea, they that feed of the portion of his (the king of Egypt's) meat, shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow : and many shall fall down slain.*

In these three verses appear the principal characters of Antiochus's second expedition into Egypt ; his mighty armies, his rapid conquests, the rich spoils he carried from thence, and the dissimulation and treachery he began to practice with regard to Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by sea and land, the instant the season would permit. (x) *Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy. — And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt : but Ptolemy was afraid of him and fled ; and many were wounded to death. — Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof.*

Daniel, some verses after, is more minute in his prophesy of this event.

(y) *And at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him (Ptolemy is here hinted at ;) and the king of the north (Antiochus) shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships, and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.*

(z) *He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown : but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon.*

(a) *He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.*

(b) *But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over the precious things of Egypt, &c.*

(u) Ver. 26. (x) 2 Maccab. c. i. v. 17, 18, 19. (y) Ver. 40.
(z) Ver. 41. (a) Ver. 42. (b) Ver. 43.

If

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophesy, we find a perfect resemblance, except that the prophet is more clear and particular than the historian.

(c) Diodorus relates that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at least the greatest part of it: for all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He subdued Egypt with an astonishing rapidity, and did that (d) *which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers.*

Ptolemy either surrendered himself, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at first treated him with kindness; had but one table with him, seemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable possession of his kingdom, reserving to himself Pelusium, which was the key of it. For Antiochus assumed this appearance of friendship with no other view but to have the better opportunity of ruining him. (e) *They that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him.*

Antiochus did not make a long stay in Egypt at that time, the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march against them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometor for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raised Evergetes his younger brother to the throne in his stead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had passed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of restoring the dethroned monarch, but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom.

(c) In Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.
(e) Ver. 26.

(d) Dan. c. xi. ver. 24.

ANTIOCHUS's third EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(f) : *And both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief ; and they shall speak lies at one table ; but it shall not prosper : for yet the end shall be at the time appointed.*

(g) *Then shall he (Antiochus) return into his land with great riches.*

Antiochus's third expedition could scarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince hearing that the Alexandrians had raised Evergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the specious pretence of restoring Philometor : (h) *per honestam speciem majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum.* After having overcome the Alexandrians, in a sea-fight at Pelusium, he laid siege to Alexandria. But finding the inhabitants made a strong opposition, he was contented with making himself master of Egypt again in the name of his nephew, in whose defence he pretended to have drawn the sword : (i) *cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat.* They were then at Memphis, eat at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have his nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose the highest confidence in his uncle ; but all this was mere show and outside, both dissembling their real sentiments. The uncle endeavoured to crush his nephew : (k) *cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat, ut mox victorem aggrediretur ;* and the nephew who saw through his design, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus,* strove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus neither succeeded in deceiving of the other : nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

(f) Ver. 27.

(g) Ver. 28.

(b) Liv. l. 44. n. 19.

(i) Id. l. 45. n. 11. Hieron. in Dan.

(k) Liv. ibid.

ANTIOCHUS'S fourth EXPEDITION into EGYPT.

(l) *At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter.*

(m) *For the ships of Chittim shall come against him: therefore he shall be grieved and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant.*

Advice being brought Antiochus that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the mask, and declared publickly that he intended to conquer Egypt for himself. And, to support his pretensions, *he returned towards the south*, that is, into Egypt, but was not so successful in this expedition as before. (n) As he was advancing forward to besiege Alexandria, Popilius and the other Roman ambassadors, who were on board a fleet composed of Macedonian or Greek ships, (for this the Hebrew word Chittim signifies) which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms and leave Egypt. He obeyed, but *with the utmost reluctance, and made the city and temple of Jerusalem feel the dire effects of his indignation*, as will be presently seen.

Had the prophet been eye-witness to this event, would it have been possible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner.

II. CRUEL PERSECUTIONS EXERCISED BY ANTIOCHUS AGAINST THE JEWS, AND FORETOLD BY THE PROPHET DANIEL.

I have mentioned and explained in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and those of his four successors.

(l) Ver. 29.

(m) Ver. 30.

(n) Liv. l. 45. n. 10.

(o) Be-

(o) *Behold an he-goat came from the west, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground. —*

Could it have been possible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conquests? (p) *The he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong, the great horn was broken: and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven.* These are Alexander's four successors. (q) *And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.* This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained several victories towards the south and east, and who strongly opposed the army of the Lord and the Jewish people, of whom God was the strength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed against the people of God, the priests of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

(r) *And it waxed great (the horn) even to the host of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. —* (s) *Yea, he magnified himself even to the prince of the host (to God;) and by him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down. —*

(t) *And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it practised and prospered.*

Daniel gives still greater extent to the same prophecy in his eleventh chapter.

(u) *His heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits. — He shall return and have indignation against the holy covenant.*

(x) During the siege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had

(o) Dan. viii. 5.

(p) Ver. 8.

(q) Ver. 9.

(r) Ver. 10.

(s) Ver. 11.

(t) Ver. 12.

(u) Ch. xi. ver. 23, 30.

(x) 1 Maccab. i. 21—24.

2. Ver. 5—21. Joseph. lib. de Maccab. &c.

been accused of expressing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, stormed it, and exercised all the barbarity that his fury could suggest. About forty * thousand men were killed, and the same number sold as slaves, in the compass of three days. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the vessels, treasures, and rich ornaments.

(y) After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury he conceived upon that occasion against the Jews. He sent Apollonius into Judæa, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to sell the women and children. Accordingly Apollonius made dreadful havock in Jerusalem, set fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

(z) *He shall return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant.——And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate.——And such as do wickedly against the covenant, shall be corrupt by flatteries, &c.*

(a) Antiochus declared openly for all those who should renounce the law. Having published an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion; he sent some officers to Jerusalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and abolish the worship of the Most High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his statue in it. They raised in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer sacrifices, and eat of meats sacrificed to idols. Many,

(y) 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. 2 Ver. 24—26.
30, 31, 32.

(a) 1 Maccab. i. 43, &c. 2 Maccab. iv. 7,

&c. vi. 1, &c.

(z) Dan. xi.

* We are told, in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.

from the dread of the torture, seemed to comply in all things required from them; and even prompted others to countenance their base apostacy.

(b) *And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall Antiochus corrupt by flatteries; but the people that do know their God shall be strong and do exploits.* This manifestly points at old Eleazar, the seven Maccabees and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the impious orders of the king.

(c) *And they that understand among the people, shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days.* This relates chiefly to Mattathias, and his sons.

(d) *Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries.* Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, and the almost universally abandoned religion, with so small a number of forces, that we can consider the success which the Almighty gave their arms no otherwise than as a miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very considerable body.

(e) *And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed.* The sufferings and death of those who stedfastly refused to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

(f) *And the king shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done.*

(g) *Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor*

(b) Dan. xi. 32.

(c) Ver. 33.

(d) Ver. 34.

(e) Ver. 35.

(f) Ver. 36.

(g) Ver. 37.

the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all.

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exercised his impious fury chiefly against Jerusalem and the Jews, and almost without any resistance. The Almighty seemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath against his people was satisfied.

(b) But tidings out of the east, and out of the north, shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many.

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the east, and Artaxias king of Armenia to the north, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke. Tacitus * tells us, that when Antiochus had formed a resolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. *(i)* Before he set out for the provinces on the other side of the Euphrates, he gave Lyfias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his absence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to settle other nations in their country.

(k) He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace [† in Apadno] between the sons in the glorious holy mountain [of Zabi;] yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him. This verse, which is translated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, because of the two words *Apadno* and *Zabi*, which are not to

(b) Ver. 44.

(i) 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39.

(k) Ver.

45.

* Antiochus demere superstitionem, & mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est: nam

ea tempestate Arsaces defecerat. Tacit. l. 5. c. 8.

† N. B. The words between the crotchets in this verse are not in our English translation of the bible,

be

be found in the antient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up these kind of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reason to suspect, imagined that this verse alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greatest part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be satisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares that Antiochus shall pitch his camp near mount *Zabi* (doubtless the same with *Taba* *, where, according to (1) Polybius, he died) and that there he *shall come to his end*, being abandoned by God, and having none to *help him*. We have seen how he expired, in the most cruel agonies, and struck with an unavailing repentance, which only increased his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and several interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel speaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in another sense, as alluding to Antichrist. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the most sensible, as well as most expressive types of that enemy of Christ Jesus and our holy religion.

It is impossible for us, whilst we are reading this prophesy, not to be prodigiously struck to see the justness and accuracy with which the prophet traces the principal characteristics of a king, whose history is so much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that for this reason the holy spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a transient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells so long on that of Antiochus Epiphanes.

(1) Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

* *Taba*, according to Polybius, was in Persia; and in Paretacena according to Quintius Curtius.

With what certainty does Daniel foretel a multitude of events, so very remote, and which depended on so many arbitrary circumstances! How manifestly did the spirit, which presented futurity to his view, shew it him as present, and in as clear a light, as if he had seen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the scriptures, and, by a necessary consequence, the certainty of the Christian religion, become, by such proofs, in a manner palpable and self-evident?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so indisputable a manner as this. Porphyry*, the professed enemy of the Christian religion, as well as of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed in finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel, and the relations given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon-day. However, he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are since lost, to shew in a very extensive manner, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet; and he concluded from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events, could not possibly have been written by Daniel so many years before they happened; and that this work must certainly have been wrote by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the Christians and Heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause, could they be able to demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now

* *Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, A. D. 233.* and wrote a very voluminous treatise against the Christian religion.

this

this they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews; whose evidence could not be suspected or disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the Christian religion than the heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which Providence has appointed them the depositaries and guardians, was so prodigious, that they would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch, who should have attempted only to transpose a single word, or change one letter in it; what idea then would they have entertained of that man who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books in them? Such are the witnesses who attested the reality of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs so convincing, or cause so victorious? (m) *Thy testimonies are very sure——O LORD, for ever.*

(m) Psal. xciii. 5.

3 AP 65

The End of V O L. VIII.

